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PLYMOUTH ROCK RESTORED

I.

THE removal of Plymouth Rock from its private burial-yard in front of Pilgrim Hall, where it had lain for nearly fifty years, to its old bed-rock near the quickening, world-uniting sea, has suggested an attempt to restore this ancient stepping-stone to its historical connection with other Pilgrim landing-places, upon Clark's Island and Cape Cod, together with a brief review of other restorations now in progress at Plymouth through the generous aid of J. Henry Stickney, of Baltimore, to whom the credit of restoring Plymouth Rock belongs.

Popular tradition, the celebration for more than a century of Forefather's Day with its splendid oratory, the influence of churches in New England, the press, pictorial art, poetic imagination—all these influences, and many more besides, have contributed to the development of the now almost universal idea among Americans and foreigners, that the Pilgrim Fathers first landed upon Plymouth Rock. The world is very willing to believe this pleasing tradition, and there is no reason for supposing that the world will ever renounce it, if indeed such apostasy were desirable. The world likes general and comprehensive ideas, and Plymouth Rock stands very properly for the first permanent landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at New Plymouth. The Rock well typifies the historic idea that they had come to stay in that vicinity. It is impossible for a modern pilgrim to contemplate that low-lying wharf by the sea, with Cole's Hill rising above it—Cole's Hill, the first burying-ground of the Pilgrims—without the conviction stealing over him that this traditional and actual landing-place is different from all others. Here, after the explorers had landed from the Mayflower, they "came to a conclusion by most voyces, to set on the maine Land, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared;" here at Plymouth all finally, but gradually, disembarked, men, women, and children;

here they settled; here they lived; here they died, and here they were buried. "No New Englander," said President Dwight, of Yale College, in his "Travels," written nearly a century ago, "No New Englander who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the rock where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions very different from those which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New Englander could be willing to have that rock buried and forgotten." This is the voice of a popular sentiment which will never die.

But with all reverence for popular sentiment and current tradition, it is nevertheless the duty of the rising generation of American students to discriminate between emotion and fact. Without disturbing popular or individual affection for Plymouth Rock and for "the ancient Towne of Plymouth," which affection indeed can never be moved, it is nevertheless possible and desirable for all fair-minded, open-hearted readers of Plymouth history to examine its preface, which, if rightly understood, will only add intelligent interest to the volume itself. It is not intended, in this article, to attempt any historical restorations by the manufacture of new materials, but simply to point out the historic relation of a few old facts, and to join them together, as Mr. Stickney has at last reunited Plymouth Rock, which had been sundered for more than a hundred years.

Germany, England, and New England have been stepping-stones for the Aryan race in its colonial progress westward. Britain was peopled by immigrating Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, who settled in self-governing village communities; the Celtic land became Teutonic land; a new Germany was reproduced. This process was repeated by the English in a New World. Pilgrims and Puritans, imbued with the same old English spirit of independence and self-government in religious forms, peopled a New England with Teutonic village life, strengthened by English parish experience. But the Pilgrim Fathers did not come to America straight from their mother country; they first went back to their older Fatherland, which then appeared to be a land of greater liberty; after a sojourn in Holland they returned upon their footsteps and made England the stepping-stone to a New England. While the Pilgrims were actuated by a great hope and inward zeal "of laying some good foundation," though they themselves should prove but "stepping-stones unto others," it should nevertheless be remembered that it was English liberty, English independence of character, English colonial enterprise, English capital, English maritime experience, an English ship, manned by English sailors familiar with the New England coast, that brought the Pilgrims safely from old Plymouth to New Plymouth. Such facts are

historic islands indicating the relation of divided lands. "May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say," with William Bradford, the original historian of Plymouth Plantation, "*Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean*"?

It was on November 19th, new style, that the Pilgrims who sailed from Plymouth, England, on September 16, 1620, first sighted Cape Cod. Bradford explains how this cape, named by Gosnold in 1602, "retains ye former name amongst sea-men," although Captain John Smith called it Cape James. Upon November 21st, just one month before the first landing of explorers at Plymouth, the Mayflower came to anchor in the bay of Cape Cod, "wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride." The same day, before any men were allowed to go ashore, the famous Pilgrims' Compact was drawn up and signed in the cabin of the Mayflower, not for the sake of instituting government *de novo*, but for the purpose of restraining certain adventurers who threatened to "use their owne libertie" after landing, inasmuch as the Pilgrim patent was for lands in Virginia and not for lands in New England. The fundamental idea of this famous document was that of a *contract*, based upon the *common law* of England. Men who professed themselves "loyall Subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord King IAMES," men who had undertaken to plant an English colony in English dominions, were founding government upon a very ancient basis.

After signing the compact, upon the very same day, sixteen men, well armed, were set ashore in the long boat to spy out the land, and others were sent with them "to fetch wood." This was the first landing of the Pilgrims in New England. The exploring party ranged across that narrow neck of land at the end of Cape Cod, and perhaps from Long Point to Race Point. They found sand-hills which reminded them of "the Downes in Holland," although the former were far better, for the surface was often of "excellent blacke earth" of a spade's depth. Moreover the land was well wooded, down to the very sea, and without underbrush, so that they could easily make their way beneath the forest trees. Evidently, in those times, the land's end of Cape Cod was not the barren, sandy tract which the modern pilgrim finds it to be as he makes his toilsome way in a "tip-cart" or on foot across the dunes from Provincetown village to Race Point. The surviving name, "Wood End," indicates that a forest-growth once flourished upon the southwest side of Cape Cod. The desolation of Sahara has been brought upon this region by cutting off the timber, thus allowing the sand to drift in from the beach.

The above exploring party returned at night to the Mayflower with their boat full of juniper, "which smelled very sweet," and which the Pil-

grims used for fuel. The next day was Sunday. On Monday, November 23d, the shallop was unshipped and drawn ashore for repairs, which occupied more than a fortnight; but on this day occurred also the first general landing from the Mayflower. Mourt's "Relation" says: "Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash"! There is apparently very little poetry about this event, but the landing itself must have been almost as striking as the traditional disembarkation of men, women, and little children upon "the ice-clad rock of Plymouth." It is not likely that all the women and children were taken ashore at Cape Cod, but it is reasonably certain that those who were taken ashore were carried in the arms of the Pilgrim Fathers; for there is abundant evidence that "our people going on shore were forced to wade a bow shoot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was ny times freezing cold weather." It was a hardy, manly, womanly, self-forgetful landing. This reckless exposure of health and comfort, this intrepid courage of English men and English women (however plain and poor), this dauntless energy, this power of doing what needs to be done without a question or a thought of what may happen to the doer, these are rocks of character upon which Old England and New England were built. This old English energy, this *gritrock*, crops out everywhere to-day among the common people of both countries, for the English race is equal to itself in all times and in all lands. But there is a tragic interest attached to this bold stalking through the sea at Cape Cod. Such landings peopled no town like Plymouth, but they peopled Cole's Hill, and led to the discovery of an unseen city. Such landings "brought to the most, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather proving sodainly cold and stormie, which afterward turned to the scurvey, whereof many dyed." Bradford says: "Halfe of their company dyed, espetially in Jan: & February, being ye depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts."

On November 25th, sixteen armed men, "every man his Musket, Sword, and Corslet, vnder the conduct of Captaine Miles Standish," were again set ashore for another exploration. This was the "First Expedition," the route of which is represented in the accompanying map, reprinted from Dr. Dexter's edition of Mourt's "Relation." The men marched in single file through the region of what is now Provincetown Village, where they caught sight of half a dozen Indians "with a Dogge." The savages ran into the woods "and whisled the Dogge after them." The English, having already set out in this general direction, and being naturally curious to discover where the natives lived, followed their tracks for "about ten miles," for the Indians returned the same way they came, and, at one point

in their course, ascended a hill in order to see if they were pursued. Night falling, the English encamped around a watch-fire and stationed "three Sentinells." In the morning, as soon as the trail was visible, pursuit was resumed, and it was found that the Indians had plunged into a dense wood; but the English boldly followed after. Their journal says: "We marched thorow



MILES STANDISH.

boughes and bushes, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very Armour in peeces, and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water." The explorers had brought with them no "Beere," only a "little Bottle of *aquavite*," with biscuit and Holland cheese; but finally they found a spring and drank with great delight their "first New England water."

Pushing on, the explorers soon discovered Indian graves, corn fields, buried baskets of "faire Indian Corne," a ship's iron kettle "brought out of Europe," the remains of an old house, and of an old fort or palisade "made

by some Christians," a deer-trap wherein William Bradford was caught in a noose of rope made as skilfully "as any Roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be." It is impossible in this connection to give further details of the First Expedition, or to follow out the devious windings of their route, which are sufficiently indicated upon Dr. Dexter's map, and have been traced out with great minuteness not only by him, but by Dr. Young in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers," and by Mr. Freeman in his great work upon the "History of Cape Cod"—the story of the English Conquest of New England by an historian living, not at Somerleaze, in Somerset, but at Sandwich, in Barnstable, whom the writer of this article made a pilgrimage to see, and whom he now remembers as resembling the English historian who bears the Freeman name. The world is full of doubles and survivals, but Cape Cod is Old English to the backbone. Its town names are nearly all Old English—Sandwich, Falmouth, Barnstable, Yarmouth, Harwich, Chatham, Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and the very town-end of the English Province of Massachusetts Bay, Provincetown. The writer has followed on foot the historic track of those first Pilgrim explorers through the region of those Old English "villages" in Truro, and he has returned upon their course to Provincetown, where they "came neare the ship" and "shot

off" their guns, and "the long Boat came to fetch vs." The expedition was out three days and two nights.

The author of "Footprints of Miles Standish," who has followed the route of this first expedition with a perfect knowledge of local topography, and sketched it in a picturesque way with an artist's skill, concludes his account as follows: "Thus the expedition ended with success, and a good report was brought concerning the land, encouraging the Pilgrims to make larger efforts to discover a suitable spot for the establishment of their colony. It was therefore not without an important bearing upon all that followed, and formed a link in the chain of Providences which led to the permanent occupation of the country. Few persons ever consider how largely Plymouth Rock is indebted to the sands of Cape Cod."

Two other exploring expeditions were afterward sent by sea, and the discoveries made by each were more interesting than those which had preceded. The routes and the main objective points are clearly indicated upon Dr. Dexter's map. The second expedition was made by twenty-four Pilgrims and ten sailors. The Pilgrims chose Master Jones, of the Mayflower, their leader, "to gratifie his kindnes." They set out December 7th, just ten days after the return of the first expedition, and went in the shallop and long boat to East Harbor, where again some of the Pilgrims landed. "It blowed and did snow all that day & night, and frose withall: some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here." Thus also is the landing at East Harbor connected with Plymouth Rock and Cole's Hill. The next day the shallop met the explorers and they sailed to the mouth of Pamet River, which they had discovered on the first expedition. This estuary they called "Cold Harbour," which they found good for boats, but not for ships. Here, "betweene the two creekes," some of the party landed and marched up Pamet River four or five miles, as they thought, and in snow six inches deep, the shallop following the course of the stream. They camped "vnder a few Pine trees," having secured "three fat Geese, and six Ducks to our Supper, which we eate with Souldiers stomacks." The next day, December 9th, dissatisfied with the hilly country, they marched over to the other creek, or the Little Pamet, to the place they called Cornhill, in the vicinity of which they found more Indian corn, altogether about ten bushels, of which "we had neuer in all likelihood seene a graine—if we had not made our first Iourney; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frosen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes and short Swords, to hew and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wrest it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Tooles." Thus are the first expedition and the landings in Truro closely connected

with the planting of Plymouth, just as seed-time is connected with harvest. That day sixteen men, broken down with fatigue and cold, returned in the shallop to the Mayflower. The rest "lodged there" by Cornhill, and the next day continued explorations, following certain broad, beaten paths into the woods for five or six miles, supposing the track to lead "into some Towne." But they found only graves, "no more Corne, nor any things els but graues," full of "odd knackes." The journal says naively, "we brought sundry of the pretiest things away with vs." After the return of the shallop a few Indian wigwams were found, lately occupied, and full of mats, wooden bowls, trays, dishes, pots, and baskets, "also an English Paile or Bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two Iron eares." After many such curious discoveries, the explorers returned that night, the 10th of December, to the Mayflower.

There was much talk on board of settling near Corn Hill, where there was land already cleared, a place "healthfull, secure, and defensible," with a fair harbor for boats although not for ships. The place was, however, near Cape Cod Harbor, where was "good fishing," and where they daily saw great whales of the best kind for oil and bone; but, it was argued, there might be better fishing, better ground, and a better harbor not far away. The whole matter turned upon the authority of Robert Coppin, the English pilot, who said there was a good harbor beyond the next headland (Manomet Point), over against Cape Cod. He said he had been there and knew the place as Thievish Harbor, for once while "trucking" in that region with the natives, the latter had stolen one of their ship's harpoons. And so, on December 16th, the third expedition set out in the shallop to go to this excellent harbor, the idea of which led to the founding of Plymouth. This expedition, the most important of all, for it was this party which first landed at Plymouth on Forefathers' Day, was composed of ten Pilgrims, mentioned in "Mourt's Relation" in the following order: Captain Standish, Mr. Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Howland, "and three of London"—Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Doten; also, "two of our Sea-men"—John Allerton and Thomas English; and "of the Ships Company there went two of the Masters Mates, Master Clarke and Master Copin, the Master Gunner, and three Saylers."

The modern excursionists, sailing in pleasant summer weather toward Truro or Plymouth, can obtain no idea of what that voyage must have been in the middle of December, 1620. Edward Tilley nearly swooned with cold; "it was very cold," says the journal, "for the water frose on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron." The voyagers

were delayed by contrary winds, but, early that evening, they reached the vicinity of Eastham, where they put in and landed. Coasting along the region of Wellfleet, they had spied ten or a dozen Indians on shore, "busie about a blacke thing," which proved to be a grampus. The Indians ran away, but that night the Pilgrims from their camp saw the distant light of the Indians' fire. In the morning the explorers divided their company, eight remaining in the shallop while the rest proceeded to spy out the land. They went toward Wellfleet, where they had seen the Indians, but found only the grampus, which name they gave to Wellfleet Bay. They found an Indian "burying-place, one part whereof was incompassed with a large Palazado, like a Church-yard." They discovered four or five "Indian-houses," but they met no people. When the sun was low, they came out of the woods and hailed the shallop, which came to them, and they encamped as before with a barricade and sentinels. In the middle of the night "a great and hideous cry" was heard, "and our Sentinell called *Arme, Arme*. So we bestirred ourselues and shot off a couple of muskets, and noyse ceased." They concluded it was nothing but wolves or foxes. But in the morning at "brek-fast" they heard a great and strange cry, and one of the company came running in and called out, "They are men, *Indians, Indians!*" Captain Miles Standish had his gun ready and fired a shot, and after him another. The Captain told his men not to shoot until they could take good aim. There was one Indian "a lustie man," who seemed to be "*their* Captaine," who, from behind a tree, shot arrows at the Pilgrims. They fired at him three times without effect, but at last they "made ye barke or splinters of ye tree fly about his ears," whereupon he gave an extraordinary yell and ran away, with all his following. This place the Pilgrims called "The First Encounter." Thence they intended to sail "to the aforesayd theeuish Harbour," if they found no better. They coasted along all that day, December 18th, but found no river or creek. It began to be bad weather; the wind increased, and the sea grew rough. "Anon Master Coppin bad vs be of good cheere he saw the Harbour." This was the entry to Plymouth.

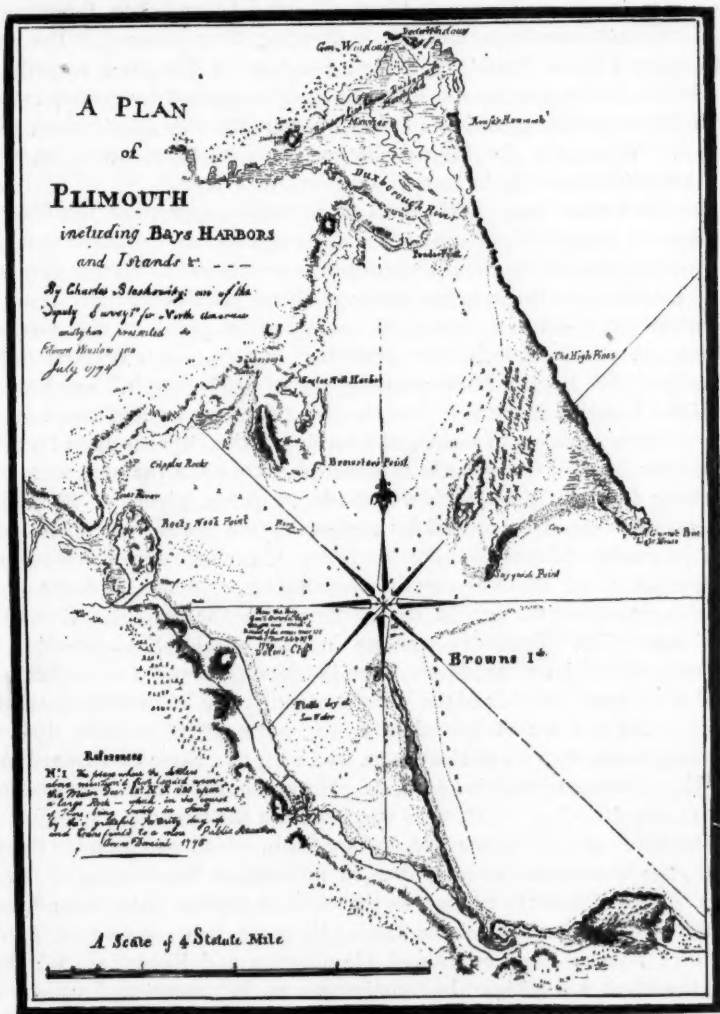
In the possession of the Russell family of Plymouth, through intermarriage with the Winslows of Marshfield, is an ancient "Plan of Plimouth including Bays, Harbors, and Islands &c. By Charles Blaskowitz; one of the Deputy Survey^r for North America and by him presented to Edward Winslow Jun. 1774." A few years ago, while visiting the town of Plymouth and investigating its antiquities, the writer enjoyed the privilege, through the kind offices of Arthur Lord, Esq., of examining this old English map, with other articles of historical interest, old English plate and

furniture, which had been handed down in the Winslow family. And by the courtesy of the Russells the writer was made the owner of a lithograph copy of the above chart, engraved fifteen years or more ago by a nephew of Mrs. Mary Winslow Russell, Dr. Nathan Hayward, for his own amusement and for the gratification of personal friends. A few impressions only of this engraving were struck off, and the plate is no longer known to exist. The family conjecture that it was destroyed in the Boston fire in 1873.

In 1876, Mr. Henry Mitchell, of the United States Coast Survey, who was then stationed at Plymouth, and whom the writer afterward had the good fortune to meet, made a partial sketch of the original Blaskowitz map, still in an excellent state of preservation, for the sake of making a scientific record of its early information upon Plymouth Harbor, its channels, soundings, etc., as they existed before the American Revolution. Mr. Mitchell, in his official report, said, "In its topographical features the original plotting made by Blaskowitz from his survey of Plymouth is remarkable for accuracy and beauty;" but Mr. Mitchell says of his own sketch, "I omit the strictly topographical details, although they are admirably executed upon the original with pen and brush." For the immediate purposes of the coast survey, harbor measurements were more important; but Mr. Mitchell forwarded to Washington a copy of the lithograph above mentioned, and it is to be regretted that it was not published by the Coast Survey, for he pronounces it "generally faithful," although "it omits the line of soundings in the main ship channel, which happens, from our point of view," says Mr. Mitchell, "to be the most important part of the testimony." Mr. Mitchell's observations upon the Blaskowitz map, and his own partial sketch of the same, were published by the United States Coast Survey in the report of 1876 (Appendix 9), together with a copy of Champlain's sketch, drawn in 1605, representing the outer roadstead of Plymouth, with its "high promontory" now known as Manomet Point, Plymouth Beach, and approximate notions of Gurnet Head, the Saquish, and Clark's Island. Upon the same sheet was printed the United States Coast Survey map of 1875, showing the harbors of Plymouth, Kingston, and Duxbury, with full details regarding soundings, channels, harbor currents, and sand-banks, in which latter the "stern and rock-bound coast" of the poet's imagination more especially abounds.

This grouping upon one large sheet of actual soundings and other observations of Plymouth Harbor, made in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, by Champlain, Blaskowitz, and Mitchell respectively, is a most valuable contribution to the historical geography of Plymouth. Such a comparative coast survey not only affords an excellent basis for calculating

by what courses the Pilgrim shallop and the Mayflower itself first entered Plymouth Harbor, but for elucidating that passage in "Mourt's Relation"



where the Pilgrim explorers observe, in a very significant way, "we sounded the Harbour, and found it a very good Harbour for our shipping." Naturally

sailors, with line and plummet, seeking a channel by which the Mayflower might approach as conveniently near shore and shelter as possible, would have felt their way up Plymouth Harbor, behind Long Beach, following the line of deepest soundings, and not contenting themselves with the sandy flats around Clark's Island, or toward Duxbury or Kingston, according to the plausible theory of shorter distance lately suggested by Sidney Howard Gay in his entertaining article in the *Atlantic Monthly* (November, 1881), entitled, "When did the Pilgrim Fathers land at Plymouth?" on which point a word or two will be said in another connection.

The Blaskowitz map, aside from its valuable suggestions touching the harbor route toward Plymouth, bears also upon its face certain manuscript notes upon points of Plymouth history in their relation to Plymouth geography. Inasmuch as the map has never yet been published, these notes are known only to those who know the map, and, in point of fact, not many persons, even in Plymouth, have seen the original. Mr. William S. Russell, author of "Pilgrim Memorials and Guide to Plymouth," was probably one of the first, if not the very first, to recognize this ancient chart as a bit of documentary evidence touching the landing of the Pilgrims upon Plymouth Rock. Mr. Russell thought the manuscript notes upon the map were made by young Edward Winslow, to whom the map was given by Blaskowitz. This question could be settled by comparing the notes with an authentic scrap of young Edward Winslow's writing, if such a scrap could be found in Plymouth; but there is certain presumptive evidence in favor of Mr. Russell's view from the special designation upon the map of "Gen. Winslow's" and "Dr. Winslow's" estates in Marshfield. Such mention, the only reference to homesteads upon the Blaskowitz map, would indicate annotation by some member of the Winslow family. Whatever the date, these manuscript notes are at least interesting and suggestive from their very association with such an ancient map, and with the name of Edward Winslow, Jr., who was of Pilgrim descent. He was born in 1746, and graduated from Harvard College in 1765, as appears from the triennial catalogue. In 1770 he delivered before the Old Colony Club, which was founded the year before, the first oration ever spoken in memory of the landing of the Pilgrims. He was thus the pioneer in that field of oratory which was afterward entered by John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, Richard S. Storrs, Lyman Beecher, Daniel Huntington, and Robert C. Winthrop. It is, therefore, not without historic interest to find mentioned upon a map owned by Plymouth's first orator, an historical point like this: "On this Island the pious Settlers of this Ancient Town first landed Dec. 8, O.S. 1620, and here kept their first Christian Sabbath."

The above note is written upon the chart by the side of "Clark's or Watson's Island." The earliest mention of Clark's Island that the writer has been able to find is in the Plymouth Colony Records (i., 95, 109), where "Liberty is granted to William Maycumber, cooper, to fetch tymber to make hoops for vessels for the colonies use at Clark's Iland & Sagaquash" (September 3, 1638), and where (January 7, 1638-9) "The Court hath graunted that Clarke's Iland, the Eele Riuer beach, Sagaquash, & Gournettes Nose shal be & remayne vnto the towne of Plymouth, wth the woods therevpon." It appears from the Town Records of Plymouth that Clark's Island was long administered as common land, the town occasionally granting privileges to individuals, for example to Mr. John Jenney, who wished to set up salt-works there. But in various cases the land reverted to the town. In 1690 the island was purchased by three men, of whom Elkanah Watson was one, and finally it came entirely into the hands of the Watson family. When the term "Watson's Island" first came into use as synonymous with Clark's Island, it would be difficult to say. The latter is now the prevailing name. It is said to have been derived from John Clark, the first mate of the Mayflower, who is supposed to have been the first man to land from the shallop that dark and rainy Friday night, December 18, 1620, N. S., when, after battling for hours with a high sea, rain, snow, and wind, mast and rudder broken; when, after narrowly escaping shipwreck in a cove full of breakers, driven by the wind; when, after weathering the Saquish rocks, the oarsmen at last "gott under the lee of a smalle iland." Bradford says they did not know it was an island until morning, and consequently some, fearing the Indians, preferred to stay in the shallop, which rode safely all that night in shallow water over sandy ground; but others were so cold and wet and weary that they "got a shore" and made a fire, although with much difficulty, "all things being so wett." Mourt says they kept their watch all night in the rain upon that island. Bradford says, after midnight the wind shifted to the northwest, which brought freezing cold, and those in the boat were glad to come on shore.

This is the story of the first landing in Plymouth Harbor, upon Clark's Island, a tract of land which belongs to the ancient town of Plymouth, and which was one of the historic stepping-stones to Plymouth Rock. It is a landing which has never been celebrated in history; it has never asserted any priority over other landings upon Cape Cod and elsewhere; probably no question of precedence was ever raised by John Clark or his family as to the honor of first landing upon a wet shore from a wet boat and building a fire with "all things wett;" but this dismal landing actually occurred as above described, according to the trustworthy testimony of original sources.

"On this Island the pious Settlers of this Ancient Town first landed Dec^r 8 O. S. 1620." This is an event worthy of note, not only upon a local map by a local chronicler, but upon the map of history by all who cherish the memory of brave and significant deeds.

For three nights and two days the explorers remained upon Clark's Island before they sounded the harbor and "marched also into the land," where they tarried but one day. There was good reason for their island sojourn. Friday had been a hard day, as Bradford well says, "a day & night of much trouble & danger;" but the dawn of Saturday brought comfort and refreshing. It was "a faire sunshining day," and the Pilgrims were enabled to dry their clothes, fix their guns, and "rest themselves." First, however, they marched around the island, and found it secure from Indians; then they determined to stay there over Sunday. "Mourt's Relation" contains the following simple record of that day: "10. of December, on the Sabbath day wee rested." It was an idea of grand simplicity for the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop to suggest, in his Plymouth oration, on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, that this plain sentence be inscribed upon the rock of Clark's Island. "I know of no monument," he said, "on the face of the earth, ancient or modern, which would appeal more forcibly to the hearts of all who reverence an implicit and heroic obedience to the commandments of God, than would an unadorned stone on yonder Clark's Island, with the simple inscription, '20 Dec. 1620—On the Sabbath day we rested.'" This inscription, with historic orthography, was accordingly engraved upon an immense boulder lying upon Clark's Island, a boulder designated upon the Blaskowitz map as "Election Rock," so called, says Mr. Russell, because pleasure parties from Plymouth used to spend election holidays there. This monumental stone has now become the historic companion of Plymouth Rock.

Decidedly the most interesting and suggestive note upon the Blaskowitz map is that referring to "the place where the Settlers above mention'd first landed upon the Main, Decr 22d N. S. 1620 upon a large Rock—which in the course of Time being buried in Sand was, by the'r grateful Posterity dug up and transported to a more Public Situation Anno Domini 1775." This is a definite chronological statement, by a local annalist, of the first introduction of Plymouth Rock to a conspicuous place in American history. But before inquiring why this buried boulder was "dug up" from the sands of Time, one or two historic points demand consideration. It should be noted, in the first place, that the settlers above mentioned are the same "pious Settlers of this Ancient Town" who "first landed Dec^r 8 O. S. " (December 18, N. S.) upon Clark's Island, where they "kept the'r

first Christian Sabbath," December 20th, N. S. This is the recorded view of an Old Colony man of the last century, possibly of the man who delivered the first Pilgrim oration before the Old Colony Club in 1770; at any rate, of a man imbued with historical as well as revolutionary spirit, and testifying whereof he had seen in the digging up and removal of the rock from its grave of sand, and speaking whereof he knew as regards the men who "first landed upon the Main, Decr 22 N. S. 1620." Unmistakably he was speaking of the Pilgrims who came in the shallop.

It was primarily the landing of this Pilgrim band that the Old Colony Club meant to celebrate on December 22, 1769, which date in their own local records is spoken of as "Old Colony Day,—in commemoration of the landing of their worthy ancestors in this place." The idea which determined the choice of that particular day must have been the same idea as that which actuated the annotator of the Blaskowitz map when, with the gathered memories of repeated celebrations of Old Colony or Forefathers' Day, he faithfully designated "the place where the Settlers above mention'd first landed upon the Main, Decr 22, N. S. 1620." This matter-of-fact statement would seem to settle the question raised by a contributor to the *Nation*, July 6, 1882, on the "Landing of the Pilgrims—Forefathers' Day," an article wherein the view is advanced that this consecrated day was fixed upon with "no change of date for anniversary purposes conformable to the new style," but in commemoration of "the idea of a general landing of men, women, and children" from the Mayflower upon Plymouth Rock, on December 22, O. S., 1620. The *Nation* is undoubtedly right in maintaining that December 22d is the true Forefathers' Day, in the sense that this is the day originally celebrated and historically consecrated by "oration, sermon, song, drama, painting, and print;" but the *Nation* is surely wrong in urging that "the landing on Plymouth Rock on the day now known as Forefathers' Day was not made by the exploring party of the shallop on the 11th of December, and that it was made some days later by the whole body of Pilgrims from the Mayflower."

The historic case of the Shallop *vs.* the Mayflower is briefly and clearly stated in the simple note upon the Blaskowitz map. The case has been judged by various historical specialists in the Plymouth field: by Dr. Henry M. Dexter, editor of "Mourt's Relation," in a communication to the *Nation*, July 20, 1882, on the "Landing of the Pilgrims;" by Mr. Charles Deane, editor of "Bradford's History," in the *Nation*, August 24, 1882; by Mr. John A. Goodwin, in the *Vox Populi*, Lowell, Massachusetts, December 30, 1881; by the same forcible writer, in the *Old Colony Memorial*, June 1, 1882, July 27, 1882; and by Mr. W. T. Davis, in the *Old*

Colony Memorial of the date last named. It is interesting to note in this connection that the discussion of the true anniversary of Forefathers' Day, like the discussion of the Stamp Act and of American Independence was begun in local circles before it was taken up by the *Nation*, and the views asserted by the *Nation* were afterward reasserted by a contributor to the *Old Colony Memorial*. But Dr. Dexter says that "to us who have all our lives been studying this history on the ground, it is clear that nobody in Plymouth ever undertook to celebrate any event which was supposed to have taken place on December 22d, old style. What the Old Colony Club, on December 22, 1769, supposed itself to be especially commemorating was what happened in Plymouth Harbor on December 11, 1620, old style. They made a mistake of one day. . . . But what they had in mind was the landing from the shallop, and not any imagined later landing from the ship."

Mr. Deane sustains this judgment, and cites the authority of most eminent Plymouth antiquaries, Dr. James Thacher and Judge John Davis, both of whom regarded the landing from the shallop as the event originally commemorated, and both of whom explained, as a very natural mistake, the choice of December 22d by the Old Colony Club, instead of the 21st, which latter date is the true equivalent, new style, for December 11th, old style. The new calendar had been in vogue only seventeen years in Great Britain and her colonies, and the Plymouth people naturally supposed that eleven days, the standard of difference for the eighteenth century was equally good and valid for the seventeenth, which required only ten days for the adjustment of old style to new. "We see here how the celebration of the 22d of December came about," says Mr. Deane. "There was a landing of the Plymouth fathers on the 11th (21st) of December, 1620; and any one who wishes to celebrate the day may be sure of its genuineness. There was no landing there on the 22d, old style or new style, of which there is any record." On December 22d, new style, the Pilgrim explorers, satisfied with what they had found upon the main land—the present site of Plymouth, "a place very good for scituation" with "divers corne fields, and little running brookes;" were, in all probability, on their way back to their ship in Cape Cod Harbor, "with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts." On December 22d, old style (or January 1st, new style), the Mayflower was anchored in Plymouth Harbor; but according to "Mourt's Relation," "Friday the 22. the storme still continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to vs aboard."

This statement and the above facts have, of course, been familiar to students of Plymouth history for many years. As far back as May 27, 1850,

the Pilgrim Society, after listening to the report of a committee, of whom James Savage was chairman, voted unanimously, "That this Society will hereafter regard the twenty-first day of December as the true anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims." After passing this very sensible vote, and after struggling for many years and with considerable success to introduce the new style of celebrating Forefathers' Day, it was thought best by the Society to adopt a middle course, which should vindicate the truth of history, and at the same time preserve the ancient associations of Forefathers' Day. Accordingly, at the last annual meeting of the Pilgrim Society, May 29, 1882, the following resolution was adopted:

"That while we recognize the historical fact that the passengers on the shallop of the Mayflower landed on Plymouth Rock on the 11th of December, 1620, and that the 21st of the new style corresponds to the day of the landing, yet, in view of the fact that the 22d has been hallowed by an observance during a period of over one hundred years, and consecrated by the words of Winslow, Webster, Everett, Adams, Seward, and other eminent orators of our land, it is hereby resolved that hereafter the 22d of December be observed by the Pilgrim Society as the Anniversary of the Landing."

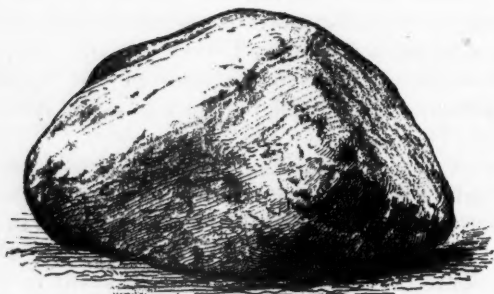
Out of respect to Seward, Adams, Everett, Webster, and other great orators, the Pilgrim Society has, of course, the natural right to reverse its own previous action, to counteract its own influence, and to ignore the recommendations of such critical scholars as James Savage, Dr. Dexter, and Charles Deane, as to the day that should be celebrated in commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims. Out of respect to the Fathers, and in view of the fact that the Julian calendar was "hallowed by an observance" of many hundred years, the Pilgrim Society might even go back to the old style of computing its reckoning, and celebrate Forefathers' Day on December 11th. But this course would be hardly worthy of the progressive spirit of the nineteenth century, when truth and reform advance more swiftly in popular favor than did the Gregorian calendar. "We can afford," says Mr. Deane, "to let the facts that have an historical basis stand. Why introduce an element of myth into Plymouth history where the facts are clear?"

But after all, the exact date on which men celebrate Forefathers' Day is not a fundamental matter in the history of Plymouth. It is of much more importance for the friends of truth to remember that Clark's Island, Eastham, Truro, and Provincetown are all stepping-stones toward the final landing; that the first landing at Provincetown on November 21st is historically inseparable from the first landing at Plymouth upon December 21st; that the three exploring expeditions are made up of a continuous chain of events

and causes which finally led the Mayflower from its anchorage in Cape Cod Harbor to its winter station in the harbor of Plymouth ; that just, as on a clear day, from the " high ground " where the Pilgrims actually settled one can look straight across the Bay to the sands of Cape Cod, so in the clear light of history the student can look across the sea from New England to Old England and restore to his consciousness the various landing places of his Teutonic forefathers.

HERBERT B. ADAMS

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, November 6, 1882.



PLYMOUTH ROCK AS IT IS.

PLYMOUTH BEFORE THE PILGRIMS

In the year 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold sailed to New England, entering Cape Cod Bay, and coasting around the Cape to the Island of Cuttyhunk, where he loaded his vessel with cedar and sassafras, afterwards returning home, only to be prosecuted by Sir Walter Raleigh for making an unauthorized voyage. He was followed by Martin Pring in 1603, that year being signalized by the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James, while at about this time Raleigh's public career paled. Before, however, the great cloud settled down over his life, the arrangements for the new voyage were made. This voyage was inaugurated by Hakluyt. Pring, in his narrative, given in the *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (iv., 1654), says: "Vpon many probable and reasonable inducements, vsed vnto sundry of the chiefeest Merchants of *Bristoll*, by Master *Richard Hakluyt* Prebendary of Saint *Augustines* the Cathedrall Church of the said Citie, after diuers meetings and due consultation they resolved to set forth a Voyage for the Discouerie of the North part of *Virginia*." Taught by the experience of the previous year, they first sent a deputation, consisting of "the said Master *Hakluyt* accompanied with one Master *John Angell*, and Master *Robert Salterne* (which had beene in the said Discouerie the yeere before with Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*) to obtaine permission of Sir *Walter Raleigh* (which had a most ample Patent of all those parts from *Queene Elizabeth*) to entermeddle and deal in that action." Permission was thus obtained "vnder his hand and Seale." *Salterne*, who afterward took Orders in the Church of England, was appointed the "Chief agent."

The expedition was composed of two vessels, "the *Speed-well*" of fifty tons, manned by thirty men and boys, and "the *Discouerer*," with thirteen men and boys. Pring himself commanded the large vessel, while Edmund Jones had charge of the smaller one.

Leaving Milford Haven April 10th, Pring took a direct course for New England, instead of sailing by the way of Newfoundland, and without even stopping at the Azores, sighted a multitude of islands in the latitude of 43° N., upon an unknown day in June, "which Ilands were found very pleasant to behold." Passing through the islands he reached the main, where "we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found foure Inlets, the most Easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but hauing passed ouer the barre, wee ran vp into it fiae miles, and

for a certaine space found very good depth, and comming out againe, as we sailed South-westward, wee lighted vpon two other Inlets, which vpon our search we found to pierce not farre into the Land, the fourth and most Westerly was the best, which we rowed vp ten or twelue miles." No Indians were found, but the remains of their camp fires were abundant.

It has been supposed very generally that one of the inlets explored was the Piscataqua, but it must be observed that when the exploration of this region had been concluded they laid their course southward for "Savage Rock," at Cape Neddock, so named by Gosnold the previous year, this place being some miles northeast of the Piscataqua. Writers have placed Savage Rock near Cape Ann, overlooking the fact that Gosnold, when he left that place at three o'clock in the afternoon with a fair breeze, did not find himself inside of Cape Cod until morning; whereas, if he had sailed from Cape Ann, he might have sighted Cape Cod before sunset. Making Cape Neddock his point of departure, the sailing time and distance are adjusted, though this reckoning throws Pring's exploration east of the Piscataqua.

Upon reaching Savage Rock, Pring found no sassafras, and concluded not to delay. Accordingly he "bare into that great Gulfe which Captaine Gosnold ouer-shot the yeere before, coasting and finding no people on the North side thereof." But, says Pring, "not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed ouer, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and odde minutes, where we went on Land in a certaine Bay, which we called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the Worshipfull Master *John Whitson*, then Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, and one of the chiefe Adventurers, and finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adioyning, wee called it *Mount Aldworth* for Master *Robert Aldworth's* sake a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage, as well with his Purse as with his trauell. Here," it is added, "we had a sufficient quantity of Sassafras."

There should be no difficulty in identifying the situation of "*Whitson Bay*," since the description is so clear, it being on the south side of the gulf overshot by Gosnold. Nevertheless, writers have blindly followed Belknap, who, in the face of the record, points out the harbor of Edgartown, at Martha's Vineyard, as the place occupied by Pring; and on the ground that the harbor is said to be in latitude $41^{\circ} 25'$. Assuming Pring's reckoning to be correct, he interpreted the phrase "south side" to mean southward from the gulf, which the context does not justify, and which the general description of the harbor also positively forbids. With respect to latitudes, it may be observed that it was a common experience, even in the seventeenth century, for the navigator to be in error to the extent of half a

degree, as we shall prove to have been the case with Pring, whose narrative supplies the means of correcting the error.

It may be noted, however, that if Pring had gone to the same region that was visited by Gosnold, he unquestionably would have made some reference to the fact; but, alluding to the extent of the voyage, Salterne teaches the contrary, saying, "in this voyage for the *most* part they followed the course of Captain Gosnold," which proves that they did *not* follow him altogether. Pring could not have sailed among the dangerous shoals around Cape Cod without at least a passing reference to the achievement, nor would he have lived seven weeks upon Martha's Vineyard without alluding to its *insular* character. But, on the other hand, what is said is consonant only with the idea that they were on the *main land*, as it is observed that one of their company went six miles into "the countrey," which was full of all kinds of wild animals. Certain other statements conclusively settle the question, and indicate the harbor of Plymouth as the place visited by Pring.

First of all, it is said that on reaching the south side of this "great gulfe" they entered a "Bay," showing that the harbor, unlike that of Edgartown, was *spacious*. At the entrance they found twenty fathoms of water. There was also a "pleasant hill thereto adjoining." Again, on one occasion they passed up a *river* from the harbor. Now, at the entrance of Edgartown there is no *bay*, no *deep water*, no *sightly hill*, and no *river*. Edgartown meets only a *single* condition, where it is said that Pring's vessel lay land-locked in seven fathoms. On the other hand, the twenty fathoms at the entrance of the harbor will be sought in vain, five fathoms being the deepest. Indeed, no twenty fathoms are found anywhere in this region. But at the entrance to Plymouth Harbor, by which is meant the approach, there is any depth of water desired. Twenty fathoms is quickly reached on going out; while this depth was reached sooner in 1603 than now, since the coast survey of 1876 (p. 143) shows the water has shoaled by filling up to the extent of nearly five fathoms, or about twenty eight and one-half feet. In fact, the soundings given by Pring apply to no other place. The description is sharply drawn, it being an "excellent Hauen at the entrance whereof we found twentie fathoms water, and rode at our ease in seven fathoms being Land-locked, the Hauen winding in compasse like the shell of a Snail." The phrase ride at our *ease* is significant, and could never have been written of Edgartown, where in the narrow anchorage the ship would be subject to attack even from the arrows of the savages. The peculiar form of Plymouth, compared to a snail, is indicated in *Mourt's Relation*, where it is described as "in fashion like a sickle, or fishhook."

There is nothing in this account, except the latitude, which when ap-

plied to Plymouth needs to be excused. The "pleasant hill" was what is now known as the "Captain's Hill," or, possibly Manomet, mentioned by Champlain. The probabilities are in favor of the "Captain's Hill," which, in a small way, as has been frequently observed, forms part of a view that suggests the Bay of Naples. The prospect from this hill is commanding, as it overlooks "Whitson Bay" and the sea. Mr. Winsor, the author of the "History of Duxbury" (p. 23), says that in early times there was a hill known as "Allerton's," as he suggests, called after one of the Pilgrims. It is not known to-day what hill this was, possibly, however, the "Aldworth," the name given by Pring was perpetuated, and afterward confounded with Allerton, who, however, did not live on the Duxbury side of the bay. His name was also spelled "Alderton," and was given to the well known point at the entrance of Boston Harbor (Young's "Chronicles," 195 n.). Champlain says of Manomet, a "Promontoire assez haut qui paroist de 4 à 5 lieux à la mer" (p. 63).

When the Pilgrims first reached the harbor they did not notice the river up which Pring sailed, but the day following they found a "very pleasant river," and called it "Jones' River," in honor of the Captain of the Mayflower.

As regards the products of the land, there is also an entire agreement. Pring says, "here we had sufficient quantitie of sassafras." Further argument, therefore, seems needless, as the situation, at the end of two centuries and a half, is identified. Nor is the correction devoid of interest, giving, as it does, the venerated site of Plymouth some place in history prior to Champlain and the advent of the Pilgrims of Leyden. Let us, therefore, return and conclude the account of Pring's adventures, now that we are assured that we are treading on what is esteemed classic ground.

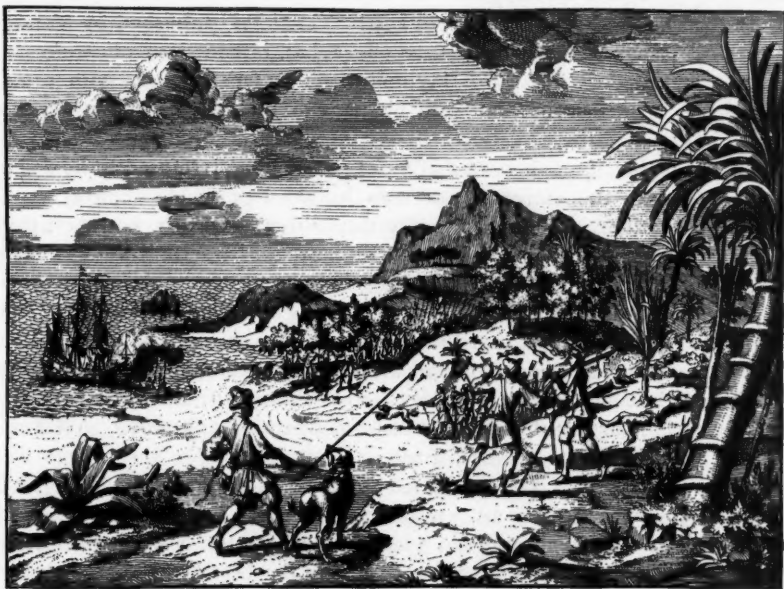
The first thing done on going ashore and viewing the people and place, was to build a "small baricado to keep diligent watch and worde in," while the most of the party were engaged among the woods. Hither the Indians came in large numbers, where a favorite New England dish appears to have been inaugurated, for they "did eat Pease and Beanes with our men."

In Pring's company there was a young man who could play the "Gitterne," or guitar, and in this "homely Musicke" the savages took great delight, rewarding the performer with tobacco and pipes, adding thereto "snake skinnes of sixe foote long," which they used for belts. Upon their breasts they wore large plates of "brasse." They were exceedingly afraid of the mastiffs that Pring brought over, and with these dogs a man was safe miles away from the ship. Their boats were made of bark, being generally of logs; yet it was at this place that Champlain noted the bark canoe.

Speaking of the Indian women, our journalist says, that he saw "not

past two of them," Brereton saying the year before in his narrative of Gosnold's voyage that he saw only "three in all." With regard to the disposition of the men, he takes his suggestion from Verrazano. In describing the people, he colors his language from both Brereton and Verrazano, as will be seen, by a comparison of the narratives; he also borrows his description of the peculiar arrangement of the aboriginal dress from the Florentine.

According to their instructions, they "pared and digged vp the Earth with Shouels and sowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of



PRING'S HARBOR FROM VANDER AA.

Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode, being about seven Weeks, although they were late sown, came vp very well."

By the end of July, Pring had loaded the smaller of the two vessels with "as much Sassafrass as we thought sufficient," and then the Discoverer "was despatched to England." This done, they "bestired" themselves to load the ship. But in the meantime they came near falling into serious trouble. Says Pring: "On a day about noone-tide while our men which vsed to cut downe Sassafrass in the Woods were asleepe, as they vsed to doe for two houres in the heat of the day, there came downe about seven

score Savages armed with their Bowes and Arrowes, and environed our House or Barricado, wherein were four of our men alone with their Muskets to keepe Centinell, whom they sought to have come down vnto them, which they vtterly refused, and stood vpon their guard." At this point their dogs proved very serviceable, and while a gun was fired from the ship, "*Foole and Gallant*, their great and fearful Mastives," one of which was trained to carry a half pike in his mouth, charged upon the savages and put them to rout. After this the Indians made sport of the matter and pretended that what they had done was in jest.

In the Dutch abstract of the voyage by Gottfried, published by Vander Aa, there is a curious copper-plate engraving, intended to illustrate this episode in the early history of Plymouth. This fancy sketch, with a palmetto tree in one corner, is given on page 811 simply to show how the Dutch interpreted the narrative.

After this the English were still more guarded, and refused to hold any intercourse with the natives, about two hundred of whom came down to the shore together, affecting a friendly disposition. Of this, however, they gave a poor proof the day before the ship sailed, by setting the woods on fire, which, Pring says, "wee did behold to burn for a mile space," though, of course, he could not speak exactly with respect to the extent of the conflagration; yet it is a fact that the Pilgrims, soon after landing, found that in one place the savages had burnt the space of five miles in length, while to-day a plain commences two miles out of Plymouth, and extends five or six miles, the scar possibly of the ancient conflagration, kindled, as it were, to light Pring upon his homeward way.¹

About the ninth of August, he left this "excellent Hauen" for England, entering Kingrode October 2d. In concluding, Pring remarks, that it is "not to be forgotten" that the captain "fell so much to the Northward because he would find high grounds, where commonly the best Hauens are, which," it is added, "fell out to his expectation;" an observation which proves that Pring did not sail for the low region where Gosnold obtained his sassafras. It was in sight of the lofty "Manomet" that he found the "Excellent Hauen" which met his expectations.

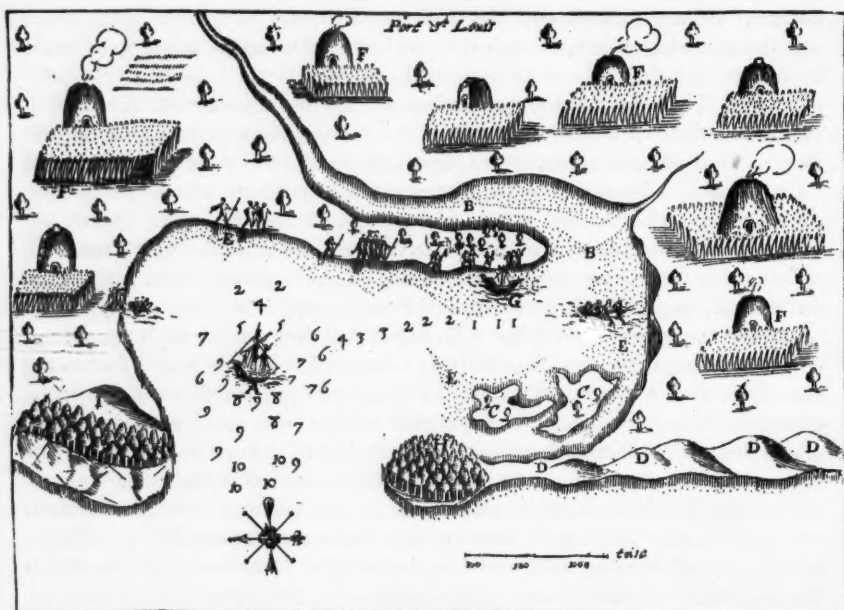
Robert Salterne was in this company as "chief agent." It is said that they found "a kinde of tree bearing a fruit like a small red peate-plum with a crown or knop on top," a "plant wherof carefully wrapped up in Earth, Master Robert Salterne brought to Bristoll." We have already seen that he wrote an account of the voyage, which was in the possession of Captain John Smith. There is no notice of any of the religious services probably performed here by this embryo clergyman, and it is therefore to be hoped

that the plant with its fruit like a "peate-plum" carried to old England from Plymouth proved more prosperous than any of the great truths that he may have taught under the shadow of Mount Aldworth while employing the venerable forms of the English Church.

The next voyager who appeared at Plymouth was Champlain, who, June 18, 1605, under De Mont, left St. Croix in a pinnace with "some gentlemen," twenty sailors, and the Indian Panounias as guide. Champlain was the historiographer, though it is evident that valuable notes were made by others, and that they were used by Lescarbot in his "*Nouvelle France*" of 1609. The object of the expedition was to find a better site for the colony than that upon the Island of St. Croix. After glancing at Mount Desert, DeMont passed on to the Kennebec, and then went to Saco, called "Chacouet;" afterward ranging the coast to Cape Ann, where the savages drew rude sketches of the region with charcoal. In this place Champlain observed that the Indians, unlike those farther north, make their canoes all of one piece (*tout d'une piece*), and describes the method of burning them out of logs, as practised in the time of Verrazano.

From Cape Ann, ruled by "Monabetha," they sailed to Boston Bay, and, supposing it the mouth of a river, called it River "du Gas," that being one of DeMont's names. To Brandt Point, on the south shore, he gave the name of "Cape St. Louis." Plymouth harbor was next reached. This place, named "Whitson Bay" by Pring, he called "Port St. Louis." The natives here executed a dance and received in reward a few "bagatelles." Anchoring within the harbor, called a *cul-de-sac*, Champlain took soundings and made a plan of the port, showing the river mentioned by Pring. He also points out the two islands referred to in Mourt's "Relation," and indicates the height called "Manomet." Champlain says, that after leaving Cape St. Louis, "We sailed this day two leagues of sandy coast, and going on thence we saw a quantity of cabins and gardens. The wind being contrary we entered into a little *cul-de-sac* to wait for fair weather in order to pursue our route. There came to us two or three canoes that came from the fishery of cod and other fish, which they take in considerable quantity, as they fish with a hook made of a bit of wood to which they fasten a bone which they make in the shape of a harpoon, and tie it very securely because not strong; all being in the form of a little barb (*crochet*). The cord attached is of the bark of a tree. They gave me one which I took out of curiosity, the bone of which was attached with hemp, in my opinion, like that of France; and they told me that they gathered the grass in their country without cultivating it. The said canoe returned to the land to give notice to those of their habitation who raised a smoke, and we

perceived 18 or 20 savages, who came to the edge of the shore and began to dance. Our canoe was sent ashore to give them some trifles with which they were very well contented. Some approached and requested us to enter their river. We raised the anchor to do this, but were not able to enter on account of the lack of water we found, it being low tide, and we



Les chiffres montrent les brasses d'eau.

A Montre le lieu où posent
les vaisseaux.
B L'achenal.
C Deux îles.
D Dunes de sable.
E Baïes.

F Cabannes où les sauvages
labourent la terre.
G Le lieu où nous fûmes
eschouer notre barque.
H Une manière d'île rem-

plie de bois tenant aux du-
nes de sable.
I Promontoire assez haut qui
paroît de 4. à 5. lieux à la
mer.

CHAMPLAIN'S PLAN OF PLYMOUTH HARBOR.

were obliged to anchor at the entrance. I landed where I saw a number of others, who received us very graciously, and where the river was seen, which appears only an arm of water which extends a little within the lands that are deserts in part; within which there is only a brook which is not able to float boats, except at full sea. This place is only about a league in

circumference. One of the entrances, in a manner an island covered with wood, principally of pine, joins to a coast of sandy hills which is very long; the other side is very high land. There are two islets within the said bay, which one does not see if he is not within, where the sea around becomes almost dry at low tide. This place is very noticeable from the sea, though the coast is very low, except the cape at the entrance of the bay, which we named the Port of Cape St. Louis."

This extract is translated from Champlain's "Voyages" of 1613 (p. 78). The old French appears to have been misprinted, *icelle* being put by an error for *isle*. This error is repeated in the editions of 1623 and 1830. In the description of the plan of the harbor, however, *isle* appears instead of *icelle*, and enables one to make the needed correction.

The sketch of Champlain gives a more graphic description of the place than his letter-press. Saquish Head is a wood-crowned hill; "Manomet" rises clothed with forests; the round-topped wigwams, plumed with smoke, stand in fields of tall corn; the savages are seen paddling their canoes, or, bow and arrow in hand, gesticulate to the French and invite them to land; while the bark of De Mont lies safely at anchor in the middle of the harbor, where, fifteen years' later, the Mayflower furled her torn sails. This is the earliest known pictorial representation of Plymouth.

The Indians received the French "graciously," but were practising the tactics that they tried with Pring. They succeeded in decoying the French nearly to the mouth of Jones' River, where the vessel grounded.

This harbor contains only one island now. There has, however, always been a tradition of "Brown's Island," supposed to be an island outside of the harbor. Winthrop, in his "History of New England" (i., p. 169), says that on "October 6, 1663, two shallops going, laden with goods, to Connecticut, were taken with an easterly storm and cast away upon Brown's Island." Mourt's "Relation" (p. 60) speaks of "two fine islands" in the harbor, corresponding to those of Champlain. The present island is called "Clark's Island." The exact locality of Champlain's second island may be shown by the Coast Survey Map, where, in the spot corresponding to the island in the French plan, is a place which at low tide has only six inches of water, but is surrounded by a channel with from seven to twenty feet.²

In the report of the Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey for 1876 (p. 143), it is suggested that by the two islands Champlain meant "Saquish and Clark's Island," quoting Champlain, to the effect that there are two islands "which are not seen unless one is within, around which the sea runs nearly dry at low tide." It may be replied, however, that Champlain renders this interpretation of his words impossible by his map, which

shows two distinct islands, and Saquish Head besides, "in the manner of an island;" while the two islands "around which the sea runs nearly dry at low tide" must have had at high tide from eight to fourteen feet of water, which is not and never was the case with Saquish. The island now wanting probably lost the trees or shrubs growing upon it, and, being nothing but sand, was cut down by the wind and washed away during some storm adding strength to the spring tide, which here often rises fourteen feet.

DeMont does not appear to have favored the spot for a colony; and with the change of the wind he sailed into Cape Cod Bay, afterward going to the neighborhood of Mallebarre.

The Dutch appear to have been the next visitors at Plymouth. Mr. Brodhead, in his "History of New York" (vol. i., p. 58), inclines to the belief that, in 1614, Adrian Block, in the *Onrest*, sailed as far east as Marblehead and Nahant. At all events, the well-known Dutch "Figurative Map" of about 1614 indicates that the Dutch had explored Plymouth Harbor, called "Crane Bay," and which contains two islands, like the map of Champlain.

The next to appear upon the scene was the famous Captain John Smith. It will not, however, be necessary to go over the history of this individual. He says, in opening his "Description of New-England:" "In the moneth of Aprill, 1614, with two Ships from *London*, of a few Merchants, I chanced to ariue in *New-England*, a parte of *America*, at the Ile of *Monahiggan*, in 43½ of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furies was then our refuge, to make ourselue sauers howeuer." The whaling was a failure, and the trade in peltries was poor, but a quantity of fish was taken; and while the sailors fished Smith ranged the coast in a boat from Cape Cod to the Penobscot, and wrote a general description of the country, which was published in 1616. The following is his description of this region, beginning with Salem, or "Naimkeck:"

"*Naimkeck* though it be more rockie ground (for *Angoam* is Sandie) not much inferior; neither for the harbor, nor anything I could perceiue, but the multitude of people. From hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, fronted with three Iles called the three *Turks Heads*: to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, where wee founde some habitations and corne fields: they report a great Riuer and at least thirtie habitations, doo possess this Countrie. But because the *French* had got their Trade, I had no leasure to discouer it. The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the West side of this Bay, where are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbors: and then the country of the *Massachusets*,

which is the Paradise of all those parts : for here are many Iles all planted with corne ; groues, mulberies, saluage gardens, and good harbors. The Sea Coast as you passe shews you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people : but the *French* hauing remained heere neere sixe weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, *viz* if there be neer three thousand people vpon these Iles ; and that the Riuer doth pearce many daies iournies the intralles of that Countrey. We found the people in these parts verie kinde ; but in their furie no less valiant. For vpon a quarrel with one of them, hee onely with three others crossed the harbor of Quonahassit to certaine rocks whereby we must passe ; and these let fly their arrows for our shot, till wee were out of danger."

Such was the description of the region of Boston, called "Massachusetts." His next point is "Accomack," or Plymouth. Smith says : "Then come you to *Accomack*, an excellent good harbor, good land ; and no want of any thing but industrious people." In the map which accompanies his description the harbor is shown in a careless way, indicating one large island and two small ones, probably thrown in from recollection, the larger standing for Gurnet Point and Saquish. A house stands by the side of the harbor with the word "Plimouth," the name, as Smith shows us, having been selected by Prince Charles.

Here at Plymouth, as was the case with Pring, they had trouble with the Indians, who showed the same changeable character exhibited in 1603. Smith says : "After much kindness, vpon a small occasion, wee fought also with fortie or fiftie of those : though some were hurt, and some slaine ; yet within an houre after they became friendes." He then goes on to describe Cape Cod.

The next year Smith prepared to come out to New England, but his customary ill-fortune pursued him. He writes as follows in "New England Trialls," published in Force's Tracts :

"I being at Plimmoth prouided with 3 good ships, yet but fifteen men to stay with me in the country, was Windbound three moneths, as was many a hundred saile more, so that the season being past, ships went for New-foundland, whereby my designe was frustrate, which was to me and my friends no small losse, in regard whereof here the Westernne Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselues ; and the rest of the Companie, contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Countrey during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters pattents so to be nominated, halfe the fruits of their endeouours theirs, the rest our owne ; being thus ingaged : now the businesse doth prosper," he adds, writ-

ing in 1622, "some of them would willingly forget me; but I am not the first they have deceived."

One can hardly withhold sympathy from Smith, especially as he was fitted above any man of his time to lead in the work of colonization. But for an unfortunate head wind he would have gone to New England in 1617, and undertaken a permanent work. Possibly he might have selected Plymouth or "Massachusetts" as the site of a colony and thus made the country essentially unlike what it proved to be.

The next person known to have appeared at Plymouth was Captain Thomas Dermer, engaged in the services of the North Virginia Company. In 1619, having finished the business he had undertaken at Monhegan, Dermer embarked in his pinnace to explore the coast, putting his surplus provisions on board the "Samson," a Virginia fishing vessel about to sail for the Southern Colony. At the end of forty leagues, near Nahant, the pinnace was beached in a storm; but, getting off with the loss of many much-needed supplies, and leaving behind his Indian guide, he sailed around Cape Cod, where, at "Sutcliffe's Inlet," he was taken prisoner but miraculously escaped. At Martha's Vineyard he met the crafty Epenow, with whom he conversed, and thence sailed through Long Island Sound and passed Hell Gate, called a "dangerous cataract," where the savages saluted him with showers of arrows. In New York Bay the natives were peaceable, and undertook to show him a strait to the West, but he was baffled by the wind and sailed southward, missing Delaware Bay, and anchoring in the Chesapeake. When the weather changed he sailed to Virginia and there passed the winter. He made a map of the coast, which he would not "part with for fear of danger." The most important act performed was the peace made with the Indians. This is not mentioned in Dermer's letter, given in the New York Collections (s. i., vol. i., p. 350), but it was alluded to in his report made to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, which report was referred to in the "Briefe Relation in Purchas" (iv., 1831), and likewise in Bradford's "History." The latter says (p. 95), speaking of the year 1620: "This M^r Dermer was hear the same year that these people came, as appears by a relation written by him bearing date June 30, An^o: 1620." Bradford quotes this relation as saying: "I will first begine wth that place from whence *Squanto*, or *Tisquantem*, was taken away; wth in Cap. *Smith's Mape* is called *Plimoth*: and I would that *Plimoth* had y^e like comodities. I would that the first plantation might hear be seated, if ther come to the number of 50 persons, or upward. Otherwise at Charlton, because ther ye savages are lese to be feared." Charlton appears on Smith's map as near the present Charles River, and the Indian Squanto, who belonged at Plymouth, had been car-

ried away, as Bradford says, "with diuerce others by one Hunt, a m^r of a ship," but was returned "hither in to these parts by one M^r Dermer, a gentleman imployed by S^r Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery, and other designes in these parts." Whether or not Hunt visited Plymouth Harbor we cannot say. Bradford further says in the "Relation" it is mentioned that "he made y^e peace betweene y^e Salvages of these parts and y^e English; of which this plantation, as it is intimated, had y^e benefite. But," he adds, unwilling that Dermer should have any credit, "what a peace it was may appeare by what befell him and his men." The "Briefe Relation" says of Dermer, "after he had made the peace betweene vs and the Sauages, that so much abhorred our Nation for the wrongs done them by others, as you haue heard: but the fruit of his labour in that behalfe wee as yet receiue to our great commoditie, who haue a peaceable Plantation yet at this present among them, where our people both prosper and liue in good liking, and assurednesse of their neighbors, that had beene formerly so much exasperated against vs, as will more at large appeare hereafter."

This was the testimony put on record in 1622 respecting the value of Dermer's work at Plymouth; but to show that the peace was of no value at Plymouth, or rather, "what a peace it was," Bradford refers to an attack made upon Dermer by the Indians in another part of the country; while Nathaniel Norton, in his "New England's Memorial," taking the hint from Bradford, also tries in the same fashion to undervalue Dermer's work. It will nevertheless be admitted by all candid minds, that any treatment ignoring Dermer must be regarded as unhistorical.

B. F. DE COSTA

¹ In Dexter's edition of Mourt's Relation, which is the edition generally referred to in THE MAGAZINE, we read at page 75: "They trauailed againe, passing by many lakes and brookes and woods, and in one place where the Salvages had burnt the space of 5. myles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, and even." Dr. Dexter says: "This very accurately describes the characteristics of the country for several miles around Great South Pond as a centre, four or five miles S. of Plymouth Rock."

² The Relation says, page 76: "In the after-noone, it pleased God from an high Hill they discovered the two Iles in the Bay." Dr. Dexter suggests "Pinnacle Hill," west of South Pond, as the "high Hill." With such references as these to the two islands in the bay, it seems idle to confound them with Saquish Head.

SAMOSET AND NEW ENGLAND COLONIZAT

A full and accurate narrative of the planting of the Leyden Pilgrims on the shore of New England would show that the well known Indian Chief "Samoset" of Plymouth was the "Sa-maa-set" of Maine. The latter was the spelling and pronunciation of the name as it appears in the earliest records of the Pemaquid country.

One day in the month of March, 1621, Samoset appeared suddenly among the few huts that then stood on the shore of Plymouth, saluting the Pilgrims in English, bidding them "Welcome." He is described as "starke naked, onely a leather about his wast, with a fringe about a span long, or little more; he had a bow and 2 arrowes, the one headed and the other vnheaded; he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, onely short before, none on his face at all."

According to Mourt's "Relation," in which narrative the foregoing picture is found, this Samoset, whose appearance at Plymouth caused so much unfounded alarm, was a savage lord of the eastern coast, distant "a dayes sayle with a great wind, and fue dayes by land," near "Monchiggon," or Monhegan. This isle of Monhegan fixes the place of Samoset's home in the Pemaquid Country. The eastern Indians called this island "Men-ah-an-k-egan," meaning "island of the sea coast." The French embodied the Indian sounds as expressed in "Emtinic," of the Indian word "*Men-ahan*" island, and "*auk*," place, which soon, by later French writers, was transformed into "Pem-cuit," and by the English hardened into "Pemaquid;" the island thereby giving a name to its nearest main-land point, which, stretching out into the sea toward it, in a narrow peninsula, four or five miles, showed to the voyager, touching at this notable landmark, the nearest shore shelter on the main. The base of the Pemaquid peninsula on the east shore is carved into headlands and harbors of refuge, and affords outlets for streams from the interior fur-bearing fresh waters. One of these interior waters is a pond, called by the Indians "Mus-congus," near which is a remarkable land-locked basin called "Round Pond," and near New Harbor of Pemaquid, in the town of Bristol, Maine.

Across its mouth, half a mile distant, and parallel to the coast, is an island, long and narrow, of triangular shape. Its northern extremity forms a sand spit, which, by the washings of Muscongus Bay, is shown to have been an ancient Indian burial-ground; and, on the main opposite, is a little,

sheltered, sunny cove, with overlooking headlands, still a way station for the Penobscot Indians travelling west, and by them, and in tradition, known and called "Sa-maa-sets" Cove. The island in early records is "Samasits," or "Sommarset" Island, and sometimes Muscongus. There is a deed extant, discovered by the late J. Wingate Thornton, signed in 1653, in which "Sommarset" records himself as of Muscongus. Here, then, under Monhegan, near the Ponds of Pemaquid, Samoset had his home, and here, too, settlements and commerce of the English race, in 1621, had been established.

The incident we have noted in opening was an unexpected greeting. Only a foothold at Plymouth had as yet been obtained. The wild and inhospitable surroundings had rendered it most uncertain ground. The explorers who threaded the shores of Cape Cod in search of a resting-place had been greeted with "a great and hideous cry" from among the hills and out of the thickets, supplemented by a cloud of arrows. Pilgrim fire-locks answered back. The drama was thus opened, and after ninety days of adventure the Pilgrims of Plymouth still stood in the midst of inauspicious surroundings, notwithstanding the work of Captain Dermer, who, as well known, visited Plymouth in 1619 and made a peace with the Indians. Everything goes to prove that they were fickle at times. Now, therefore, they were far from being safe, and in this emergency a welcome came from the wilds of Pemaquid in the person of this tall, straight chief. The forlorn strangers were revived by this welcome. "Free in speech," as well as "of a seemely carriage," Samoset described the new country, enumerated the several chieftains, and showed their strength and prowess in war.

Won by his address, and moved to pity by his destitution, the Pilgrims gave him "a horseman's coat." Familiar with the English beverage, he asked for "some beere." They gave him "strong water and biskit and butter and cheese and pudding and a piece of a mallard." He liked it all. Doubtless he had eaten and learned to relish English beer, at English tables, at Popham's Port, in "ye easterne partes." They found him able to give the names of the most of the ship-masters and commanders on the coast of Maine. He also warned the colonists of the hostility of the neighboring tribes, telling them that eight months ago they had killed three Englishmen who were of "Sir Ferdinando Gorge his men," and that two others had barely escaped with their lives to Monhegan.

He himself had been in the Cape Cod country "eight months." He must then have left Monhegan with Dermer, who landed him at the Cape. This fact gives us the thread unravelling the mystery of his presence at Plymouth. He came with Thomas Dermer, the agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' estab-

lishment at Monhegan, in his search for the recreant Rocraft, who had abused his trusts and abandoned Gorges' interests there, having illegally seized a French trader and started on a coast voyage in her.

Having informed his new-made friends of everything necessary to their welfare, Samoset wore out the day, and also determined to spend the night. Distrustful of the chief, the Pilgrims yielded with reluctance, and would have quartered him in the hold of the Mayflower, which still lay at anchor in the bay, but actually lodged him under guard in the house of Stephen Hopkins.

The next day at early dawn he departed, and within forty-eight hours returned with five other Indians. Friendly greetings were interchanged, and the five savages were sent to bring their king. Samoset remained for three days longer the guest of the Pilgrims, and received a "hat, stockings, and shoes, and a shirt." Massasoit, the King of Plymouth, at length came in while Samoset was with the Pilgrims. He tendered his good offices in negotiating a treaty of amity and peace, which was concluded between Massasoit and the colonists. The king with sixty braves was received by Governor Carver, Captain Miles Standish, Mr. Williamson, and six musketeers, heralded with drum and trumpet.

The conclusion of the negotiations was celebrated in "kissing, drinking, and feasting," his majesty trembling and sweating under draughts of "strong-water." The repose and success of the Plymouth colonial adventure having thus been assured, Samoset, in the climax of a successful and beneficent agency in shaping the incidents of the embryo life and infancy of a new commonwealth, passes forever from Plymouth scenes, leaving the Pilgrims well informed of the country, their environments of danger, and especially of the eastern coast, where he lived. No incident could have diffused greater joy than the intervention of Samoset at this juncture in Plymouth affairs.

Thirteen years prior to these events portions of the coast of Maine had become points to which English commerce and industry had been directed, and there Providence seems to have prepared Samoset for the very work he did at Plymouth for the Pilgrims in March, 1621. Popham's Port and ships had there a business growth of more than seven years.

Samoset, at his own home, had enjoyed opportunities of English association, hearing English speech and observing the courtesies of life with the English race, and the form, force, and effect of an English welcome. However broken may have been that welcome by him extended to the Pilgrims, it was alike honorable, generous, and fortunate. Thereafter Samoset appears only in Maine at and near Pemaquid.

The western landfall of Pemaquid had early been occupied for trade in furs and fish. Three years after the Plymouth welcome, nine ships made Cape-ne-wagen (now Southport) their place of trade, where the "Indian Town" medicinal gardens have been long known to tradition. Here Captain Christopher Levett (1623-4) cast anchor. A man named Coke was a leading resident and trader. It was in one of the thoroughfares of Booth-bay Harbor.

Here we next meet Samoset. Captain Levett was under the commission of Governor Thomas Gorges, and in search of an Eastern settlement and homestead. Four days were consumed at this point in his search, in and about the harbor, where he learned of the pre-occupancy of Pemaquid, and the ship *Eagle*, Witherage master, of Barnstable, England, then taking in freight under special license of the Plymouth Company. Thus Captain Levett looked no farther east. During his stay, a flotilla of Indian canoes, laden with beaver coats and women and children, came into the harbor, being bound to Pemaquid. Samoset was among them. Levett addressed himself to this chief, as a leading personage of paramount authority, and records of him honorable mention, "as one who had been found very faithful to the English, having saved many lives of the English Nation, some from starving, some from killing." Samoset's Plymouth mission and services, seem to have been well known in England.

The beaver coats and peltries of the Indians were too tempting to the Booth-bay traders, and a conspiracy was at once set on foot to secure the rich cargoes, and divert the trade from Pemaquid. Gorges seems to have been well known and highly esteemed by the natives of Maine. Samoset, with Cogawesco, Men-a-wor-met, and other chieftains spoke of him to Levett as "*their cousin*;" and, at the instance of traders, Levett's relation to Gorges was used with the savage boatmen to influence their trade. This fact overcame the reluctance of the chiefs to trade this side of Pemaquid, Samoset's intervention having been secured in behalf of Captain Levett. He ended the controversy "by swearing that none of the furs should be carried out of the harbor, but his cousin Levett should have all."

His word prevailed, and the entire stock of peltries were sold at Booth-bay, except some "beaver coats" pledged at Pemaquid to discharge an old debt there, and these were stolen during the night, and the honest intent of the Indians defeated. During Levett's stay, a son was born to Samoset, which, the captain was asked to name, Samoset declaring there should be "*mouch-i-ke lega-matche*," *i.e.*, *great friendship*, between Levett's son and his own, until "Tanto should take them up to his wig-wam," *i.e.*, to the heavenly home. The transactions at Booth-bay, the ancient

Cape Newagen, in 1623 show that the Plymouth Company was in title and possession at Pemaquid, where the Eagle was loading under the license of this corporation, which had projected and executed the colonial planting at Sabino, of Sagadahoc in 1607 ; and that at Pemaquid in 1623, as in 1614, the trade of the region was still absorbed as a settled and established perquisite of its port.

The next appearances of Samoset is at Pemaquid proper, two years later, before a civil magistrate there, in acknowledgment as grantor (with another savage) of the earliest record of land titles in New England, in a deed, according to the formularies of the English common law, and in consideration of fifty beaver skins, paid by "John Brown, a Mason," of New Harbor, parted with twelve thousand acres of his Pemaquid territory, which transaction opened the era of the acquisition of landed estate, to private individuals, in New England, which was in 1624 and 1625. This John Brown was brother-in-law of John Pierce, and related to the Pierce family of Muscongus, who settled there, it is believed, in 1621 ; while Brown was doubtless an old resident of the ancient Popham Port of 1614, the lands about which, at the date of the transfer described, had acquired a marketable value from the influx of English immigration.

No more is heard of Samoset till 1653, when he again put his sign manual to another grant of a thousand acres in favor of one William Parnell, Thomas Way, and William England. At this date his hand showed the tremor of age and the decay of life ; and probably he died soon after and was buried with his kindred in the soil of his island homestead near "Round Pond," in the town of Bristol. A monument to his name should tell coming generations where lie the ashes of a noble savage, a foster father to English colonization and the Pilgrim refugees of Plymouth.

In 1673 his remembrance was fresh and honored by his race. Says Jocelyn, among the Eastern Indians he was remembered as a "famous Sachem," and to the English in New England he was well known under various names, "Somnarset," "Samaaset," "Somerset ;" and in Plymouth "Samosset." "*Sa-maas-et*," of the Penobscot tongue, is without doubt the true sound of his native name.

His last act seems to have been for the benefit of English immigrants, who had gathered and been fostered near his homestead ; and it seems to have been in sympathy with his life and conduct, as a faithful friend to the English race to the end of his days. His relations to the English race were eminent, and with Gorges and the pioneers of English colonization in New England, intimate and enduring prior to as well as at the date of the Plymouth and Pilgrim immigration.

Contemporary with Gorges, of Maine, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and Standish, of Plymouth; and Abraham Shurt and Thomas Dermer, of Monhegan and Pemaquid, Samaaset, of the Wa-wenocks, their peer in virtue, stands out in heroic eminence in the beginnings of New England.

Whatever of interest in history attaches to Samoset as a beneficent agent in the successful planting of New England with English law, religion, and civilization, and the organization of civil life and liberty, since unfolded in the intelligence and virtue of the land, Maine is entitled to credit for the cradling. It was a son of her forests and soil who befriended the embryo colony of Plymouth which grew to a giant manhood. It was Maine, in the person of her Samoset, that met the tempest-tossed, forlorn and despairing Pilgrims, as they stood shivering on Plymouth Rock, with outstretched arms and friendly greetings to new homes, and gave effete civilization, religion, and law a fresh departure in the new world.

RUFUS KING SEWALL

NOTE.—“*Samoset* (*Sameset, Summuset, Sommerset, Summersaut*) was a native of Pemaquid, and chief and original proprietor of what is now the town of Bristol, Me. He seems to have gone on board of Capt. Dermer's ship at Monhegan, when he was on his way to these shores, with Squanto, on his pacific mission, 1618, and to have been landed by Dermer on Cape Cod, when he redeemed there the shipwrecked Frenchmen from their savage captors. This was only six months before the *Mayflower* arrived; and the Pemaquid chief still lingered among his new friends—delayed by that overruling Providence which needed him for the use of interpreter, to which he was now put. He was at ‘Capmanwogen’ (Southport, Me.) when Levett was there two years later; $\frac{1}{2}$ July, 1625, with Unonngoit, he executed the first deed ever made by an Indian to a white man, to John Brown, of New Harbor. July, 1653, he sold other land to William Parnall, Thomas Way, and William England, affixing (in a hand tremulous with age) his mark in the form of a bow and arrow. He was dead before Philip's War. [Thornton's ‘Ancient Pemaquid,’ *Me. Hist. Coll.*, v., 186-193; Sewall's *Ancient Dominions of Me.*, 102.]” Dexter's “Mourt's Relation,” p. 83 n.

“The conveyance from Somerset, and acquisition by Brown, marks the distinct legal boundary between barbarism and civility. . . . Thus the life of the Pemaquid chief, Samoset or Somerset, must ever awaken the most tender and interesting reflections; and the generosity, the genuine nobility of soul, displayed by this son of the forest, must be allowed as a fairer index to the true character of the aborigines than their deeds of resentment or cruelty in after-days, when goaded to madness by the cunning, cupidity, and treachery of the European. Only the humanity of an Eliot, or the Christian zeal of a Mayhew, can be shown by us as a parallel to the generous and ingenious Somerset.”—Thornton's “Ancient Pemaquid,” p. 193.

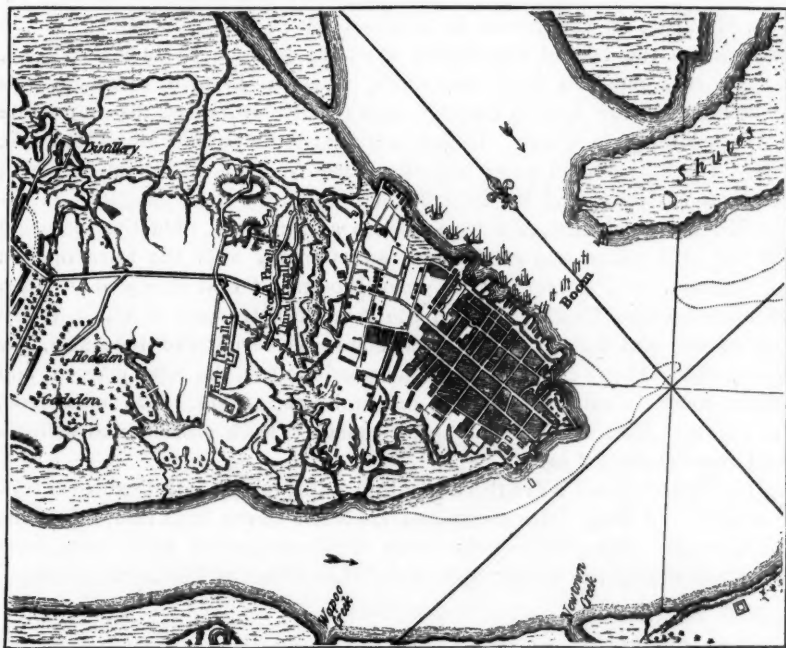
EVACUATION OF CHARLESTON, S. C., 1782

The closing event of the Revolution in the Southern field was the evacuation of Charleston, South Carolina, by the British on December 14, 1782. Its centenary follows apace and fittingly upon those of Fort Moultrie, King's Mountain, Cowpens, Guilford Court House, and Yorktown. That event meant deliverance and peace for a sorely-stricken section of the country, and it was hailed with tears of joy.

The South in that struggle suffered materially far more than the North. With a more compact population and readier resources, the New England and Middle States were able in most instances to repel expeditions of the enemy intended to plunder towns and destroy stores, as in the affairs of Lexington and Bennington. Washington's army, ever on the alert, and a tolerably well-embodied militia compelled the British to hug the sea-coast; or, at best, when they moved into the interior it was in solid masses which never attempted extensive devastation. No free riders like Tarleton and Simcoe ventured to penetrate inland as they did in the Carolinas and Virginia. The South, with its open area, great distances and scattered settlements, invited invasion, and, despite much heroic resistance, felt the weight and distresses of the war far toward her western frontier. Hence the many tales of fields laid waste, houses burned, families robbed and made homeless, slaves and property seized, and whatever is common and cruel in partisan warfare. It was, indeed, a merciful dispensation to the Southern States when peace came.

Upon the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, the British held three points at the South. Wilmington, North Carolina, was garrisoned by a part of the Eighty-second Regiment of Foot, under Major Craig—the same regiment to which Captain Moore, later to become the Sir John Moore of Peninsula fame, belonged. He was then with the other wing of the Eighty-second at Halifax, having, in 1779, taken part in the defence of Penobscot against the Boston expedition. At Charleston, South Carolina, the second point, General Leslie was firmly established, and below, General Clarke occupied Savannah. Washington had hoped to follow up the Yorktown blow by a combined expedition against Charleston, but the anxiety of DeGrasse, the French admiral, to return to the West Indies prevented. American interests in the Southern field remained in the hands of the skilful and vigilant Greene, and that he might be able to continue his successes there, Washington reinforced him with the Pennsylvania and

Maryland troops, under Generals St. Clair, Wayne, and Gist, from the Yorktown army. But there was little more fighting to be done in that direction, as the enemy shut themselves up within their fortified lines, and Greene contented himself with going into camp on the west bank of the Ashley River, some sixteen miles above Charleston. Wayne was dispatched to Georgia with a small force, where he had the satisfaction of occupying Savannah, which the enemy evacuated on July 11, 1782. This was the first step in the general move by which America was relinquished.



CHARLESTON DURING THE BRITISH SIEGE IN 1780. [OFFICIAL PLAN.]

Greene's little army upon the Ashley, composed of troops from North and South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, found camp life in the summer of 1782 as fatal as the battle-field. Fevers proved sharper than the sword. "Our camp is very thin," writes Lieutenant Denny, a Pennsylvania officer; "not more than three relieves of officers and men for the ordinary duties. Hospitals crowded, and great many sick in camp; deaths so frequent the funeral ceremony dispensed with." The Ashley River was low and "full of alligators." Food and water were alike unfit.

No wonder the soldiers longed for a release from such service, and when word came that a speedy peace was probable, and that Charleston was to be evacuated, the visions of home seemed to become something more than dreams. Long delays occurred on the part of the British, and it was not until December 14th that they took their final leave. By mutual agreement the transfer of the city to the Americans was to be effected quietly, and as Leslie moved out Greene moved in. The letters of several of the leading officers present unite in describing the orderly progress of the evacuation and occupation. General Moultrie, especially—the hero of Fort Moultrie, off Charleston, in 1776—is full in his particulars. In the forenoon, as the last of the British marched to their boats at the docks, Wayne, now returned from Savannah, marched in with three hundred Light Infantry, the Legion Cavalry, and twenty artillerymen, the rest of the army remaining in camp. Guards were posted and order observed. At three in the afternoon came a procession—Greene, on horseback, with Governor Matthews and his council, thirty of Harry Lee's dragoons, Generals Moultrie and Gist, and then officers and citizens. On the following day the civil police was established, and the day after the town opened for business. "I cannot forget," says Moultrie, "that happy day when we marched into Charleston with the American troops; it was a proud day to me, and I felt myself much elated at seeing the balconies, the doors, and windows crowded with the patriotic fair, the aged citizens, and others, congratulating us on our return home, saying, 'God bless you, gentlemen! You are welcome, gentlemen!'" Both citizens and soldiers shed tears of mutual joy."

The British sailed off in three hundred ships, taking with them over thirteen thousand Tory inhabitants and captured slaves from South Carolina and Georgia. We give here the order of the evacuation from a document preserved among the manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

12TH DEC. 1782.

FIRST EMBARKATION OF HIS MAJESTY'S TROOPS FROM CHARLESTON ON FRIDAY AT ONE O'CLOCK THE AFTERNOON.

Regiments or Corps.	Number		Where to embark from.
	Officers	Non Comm'd Offrs Drummers Privates & Servants.	
Royal Artillery	6	75	Eveleighs Wharf, Fish Market ditto.
Regiment de Dittfourth	25	478	
Ditto ... de Benning	22	432	
Ditto ... de Angeteli & Detachment de Bose	9	424	Beef Market ditto.
Total	62	1,509	

SECOND EMBARKATION AT THREE O'CLOCK THE AFTERNOON.

New York Volunteers & Prince of Wales Am ^a Regim ^t	43	406	Eveleighs Wharf.
King's Am ^a Regiment & 2 nd Batt ⁿ Br Gen ^l Skinners.....	37	417	Fish Market ditto.
1 st Batt ⁿ De Lanceys.....	24	226	Beef Market ditto.
Total.....	106	1,049	
Total to embark this day.....	174	2,258	

FIRST EMBARKATION ON SATURDAY MORNING AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

60 th 3 rd & 4 th Battalions.....	25	431	} Roses Wharf.
General Stewarts command in Town (except the 63 rd Regiment).....	50	391	
Total.....	75	882	

SECOND EMBARKATION AT NINE O'CLOCK THE FORENOON, CONSISTING OF THE REAR GUARD.

Detachment of Artillery.....	3	45	} Gadsons Wharf.
Jagers.....	2	70	
Detachm ^t 60 th 3 ^d & 4 th Batt ^{ns}	6	160	
63 rd Regiment.....	19	193	
Total.....	30	468	
Total to Embark this day.....	105	1,290	
Total Embarkation.....	279	3,848	

	Officers.	Men.
N. B.—The Buffs to embark from Fort Arbutnot, consisting of.....	24	296
The detachments of the 17 th , 23 ^d , 33 ^d , thirteen Jagers, and a detachment of one Captain, two Subalterns, Six Non-Commissioned Officers, and Sixty men from different corps in the Garrison at Fort Johnston, Making in all.....	20	334
	44	630

JNO. STAPLETON,

A. D. A. G^l.

The following reference to the event from an original Hessian account also has its place here :

"Toward the fall of 1782 word came that we were again to leave the Southern parts for the North, and go back to New York, and this talk became stronger and stronger, until finally it went so far, that Georgia and South Carolina were to be entirely given up by the Hessians and English. It was at first posted up at Charleston that in case the English and Hessians should go to sea and abandon the City, no citizen should open a door or a window in three days, much less should one let himself be seen on the street on pain of punishment until the end. Moreover if any one transgresses in other respects by firing guns and other excesses during the out-march to the water, he will be at once taken in custody and sent to Nova Scotia upon a wild, wild island, where there is no wood. Early in the morning an alarm was struck and when we had moved out of camp and stood in the street under arms, we were notified of going upon the water. Although every soldier had packed up everything in his quarters, one had forgotten this, another that. It happened so also in the beginning, but many remained behind and forgot to come back. The subordinate officers were therefore obliged to bring in all that were to be found, and then we went forward. When we came to the water, some small vessels lay there on which we proceeded to the big ships and then departed from the city up the harbor."

General Leslie and suite reached New York about January 1st following, and as Major Craig had previously sailed away from Wilmington, N. C., every point upon the coast within the limits of the thirteen States was free from the presence of the enemy, New York excepted. The evacuation of the latter city was not to occur until nearly a year after, on November 25, 1783. With that move the complete autonomy of the United States was established.



VIEW OF CHARLESTON IN 1776 FROM THE SOUTH SHORE OF THE ASHLEY RIVER. [FROM THE *Atlantic Neptune*, 1777.]

SUMNER'S "ANDREW JACKSON"

The rude political career of Andrew Jackson offers a subject not apparently the most congenial to a writer who has shown himself fond of logical analysis and skilled in applying the more delicate tests and nice balances of political and economic science. Professor Sumner, however, while somewhat summary with Jackson himself, writes *con amore* and at large of the questions touched by his administration, and makes a book which, whether its estimate of the central figure be fully accepted or not, will be regarded as a valuable addition to the growing literature of American political education.

The episodic portions of the book are not its least significant or attractive feature. In their appropriate connection occur quite a series of distinct sketches, frequently furnishing elucidation of obscurely involved points in the political and economic history of the country. Thus a brief and luminous exposition is given of the origin and development of the "American System," showing how it changed front and was radically transformed in the course of development; an account of party policies as to the disposition of the public lands exhibits the interweaving of this question with that of the tariff. The chapter on the "Relief System of Kentucky" is of especial value. Necessarily the affairs of the United States Bank undergo a considerable and careful examination, which Professor Sumner knows how to conduct without presenting the facts in a form too desiccated for the relish of the unstatistical reader. Touches even of graphic style occur in his treatment of the subject. Thus he describes the "public deposits" as on two or three occasions "banging about the money market like a cannon-ball loose in the hold of a ship in a high wind." Incidentally the author finds occasion to inculcate a favorite and needed lesson: the folly of mixing up politics and president-making with fiscal arrangements. With a well-timed occasional discursiveness also, and as if not sorry to look away now and then from the monotonous features of the "old hero," the author affords many interesting views of the times and of the characteristics of public men even in the remoter distances.

The execution of the task directly proposed in the book is conducted with sufficient vigor. The interest, however, appears to centre less in the person than in the lesson; the book seems shaped to exhibit the evil of arbitrary interference with the natural process of changes in public affairs and the especial mischief attending the reign of the "plain man" in poli-

tics, when he applies his "common sense" to the off-hand settlement of all questions. The lesson is most important, and is plainly deducible from great portions, at least, of Jackson's administrative career.

While Jackson's errors and failures are strikingly set forth in this volume, the not denied objective merits of his administration are left quite in the background. And even the credit which might seem to accrue to him from these is taken away by an analysis of Jackson's mind and motive, which presents him as incapable of any sort of administrative greatness. Yet the scholar in politics, while he could hardly have made such a record of magnificent opportunities misused or neglected as Jackson did, might have proved unequal to exigencies which Jackson seemed born for. Goethe's profound saying, that "Thought expands but lames; action animates but narrows," finds illustration in the different bearing at similar crises in our national history of Andrew Jackson and of William H. Seward. Seward's many-sidedness proved worth less than Jackson's narrow force of apprehension in the crises of nullification and secession.

Professor Sumner's presentation of Jackson's errors and estimate of damages referable to his administration will not in the main be disputed. There is much truth in the statement that Jackson "left behind him discontented and discordant elements of good and ill, just fit to produce turmoil and disaster in the future." His errors lived after him, as if endowed with his own unique vitality, producing their full logical consequence of ill results all along through a period reaching down to the present. Chief among these, perhaps, was the unfortunate influence he exercised on the development of the constitutional law through action on its constituted organs. His appointments "introduced the mode of action by the Executive through the selection of the judges, on the interpretation of the constitution by the Supreme Court." "The climax of the tendency which Jackson inaugurated was reached when the court went to pieces on the Dred-Scott case, trying to reach a decision which should be politically expedient rather than one which should be legally sound. A later and similar instance is furnished by the legal tender cases."

Jackson's consolidation of the accepted definitions and limitations of official authority, his profession of responsibility not to the law but to the people, his fast and loose interpretations of the constitution, his actual evasions of law, wrought subtle and far-reaching damage. His habitual method in such matters was signally calculated to encourage contempt for the rigor of constitutional forms and the roundaboutness of legal procedure. If, as Mr. Bagehot affirms, the "patronage of favored forms" is one of the main causes which change national character, and men are guided by type, not by argu-

ment, the popularity of the Jackson "type" must have caused deterioration in the American character in respect of law-abidingness. Professor Sumner notices the prevalence of mob-violence during Jackson's second term, commenting that "the fashion of the time seemed to be to pass at once from the feeling to the act. That Jackson's character and example had done something to set this fashion is hardly to be denied." Von Holst speaks more strongly, affirming that it was the "curse of Jackson's administration," that it "systematically undermined the public consciousness of right and diminished the respect of the people for their government." Little less than this indeed might be expected as the probable result of elevating to the Presidency the man who could from the field write exultingly of his soldiers' freedom from "constitutional scruples;" who, even by Kendall's admission, "never learned any law and never to the end of his life had a legal mind;" who, above all, knew of but one proper path for his will to its ends, and that the shortest.

One legacy of evil from Jackson's administration has assumed at length proportions so alarming that the public mind is stirred, and leaders of opposite parties, in terms at least, recognize the emergency of the issue of "civil service reform." The martial law which the Indian fighter introduced on the arena of national party management has become the method of the machine; the extension and systemization of the Jacksonian policy of appointments and removals in the civil service has been found to furnish all the apparatus needful for conducting an oligarchical government by political "rings" under the forms of popular government by election of representatives. Mr. Herbert Spencer's impression of the political situation, as reported, is "that the 'sovereign people' is fast becoming a puppet which moves and speaks as wire-pullers determine." Could Jackson revisit us he might indeed be loath to "take the responsibility" for the existence of the modern boss, but a steady look would enable him to recognize the features of that identical though hugely grown Genius of the box which his own hand fished up from the troubled waters of New York politics and let loose upon the land. A deliberate proposal to organize by the use of patronage an army of janizaries to control elections and suppress the genuine manifestation of the popular will would have evoked one of his storms of mighty wrath from Jackson, yet such a policy has naturally enough evolved itself from Jacksonian principles and methods. The principle that political opponents are enemies to be fought with all the means at disposal of political power, affords the selfish manipulator of politics reasons enough to go on in his most crooked lines of action. The notion that the public offices constitute a kind of bonanza in which the peo-

ple have a right to share in turn, is a fruitful source not only of interferences with the efficiency of the public service, but of constant turmoil and intrigue in politics. Benton puts forth this notion ingenuously enough, in defence of his chief, declaring that "General Jackson acted upon the rule of Mr. Jefferson as to appointments, etc., but no doubt was often misled into departures from the rule, but never to the extent of giving to the party more than their *due proportion of office, according to numbers.*" With a little farther extension, the notion seems to require change of administrations for the sake of rotation in office. Such crude and bad ideas, foreign to the traditions of the republic and possessing a merely local and tolerated circulation, received from Jackson the stamp of the realm. Thus he debased the coin of political thinking, and to his influence is largely attributable the subsequent progressive degeneration of party politics.

The tremendous warfare waged by him against the United States Bank furnishes, in the view of his admirers, one of Jackson's main titles to fame, and others who believe they find, in the later developments at least, evidence of all that promise and potency of ill which Jackson ascribed to the Bank, naturally credit him with a great service to his country in divorcing the Federal administration and national politics from the business of banking. Professor Sumner, whose opinion on this point is entitled to great respect, sets down the attack, and all the steps of the warfare upon the Bank, in the chapter of errors of this administration, and attributes to it damage to material interests far beyond that of which so abundant complaint was made at the time. The financial and commercial storm which broke upon the succeeding administration is viewed as one which "had been gathering for two or three years, the accumulated result of rash ignorance and violent self-will acting upon some of the most delicate social interests." Professor Sumner contrasts the good and uniform condition of the currency in 1829 with the confusion and uncertainty into which the currency and banking of the country were subsequently thrown. He does not, however, accept the favorable results to the Bank of the investigation of 1832 as absolutely conclusive as to its condition and policy, but makes the guarded statement that "the student of the evidence and reports of 1832, *if he believes the Bank's statements in the evidence*, will say that the bank was triumphantly vindicated." He suggests a decided doubt as to Biddle's sincerity. But he does not believe that Jackson's administration had a case against the Bank, or that the charges against it were proven. General Jackson seems to have made suspicion or intuition the basis of summary attack on a great financial institution which, as in operation and performing its functions enduringly, had "a great presumption in its favor." Under such circumstances "the

only reasonable question for statesman or financier is that of slow and careful correction and improvement." Whether the final result of the anti-Bank movement was beneficial or not, the force of Professor Sumner's criticism at this point is undeniable; that "the man who sets out to overturn and destroy in obedience to a 'principle,' especially if he shows that he does not know the possible scope of his own action, or what he intends to construct afterward, assumes a responsibility which no public man has any right to take." Von Holst, while holding that the continuance of the bank was not desirable, reasons that that alone is not the question. "The credit Jackson deserves for destroying it is more than counterbalanced by the manner in which he brought about its destruction. Besides, Jackson proved himself entirely incompetent to put anything in its place." On the whole, the case against Jackson's administrative wisdom in the Bank controversy seems a strong one as Professor Sumner puts it; while the warrior-President's conduct of the strife does afford splendid illustration of his élan in action and his ability to maintain his convictions against all odds, and to impress them upon even reluctant adherents.

Professor Sumner's arraignment of Jackson's administration certainly convicts it of the commission of the gravest errors and the infliction of harm upon great public interests; the moral damage being, however, far more clear than the material. Looking at his record from this side only, the critical historian would necessarily come "to bury" Jackson, "not to praise him."

But there is an obverse side to the record, the significance of which cannot be ignored, however difficult it may be to reconcile it altogether with the idea of the man naturally suggested by his tremendous mistakes and misdoings.

The peaceful success of his foreign policy in the settlement of a series of important and difficult questions, constituted an achievement at once brilliant and unexpected. Benton says that those who dreaded the election of Jackson apprehended from no part of his administration more harm than from his intercourse with foreign nations. "From his military character they feared embroilments; from his want of experience as a diplomatist they feared mistakes and blunders in our foreign intercourse." Yet most important and long-desired results were secured during his administration by peaceful negotiation, and in a manner which greatly enhanced respect for America abroad. Professor Sumner, speaking of the vantage ground which Jackson occupied in the contest for re-election, says that he "had the credit of recovering the West India trade, settling the spoliation claims, and placing all foreign relations on a good footing." Benton's account of the situa-

tion is, of course, glowing. Jackson's success in this direction was, at any rate, of a kind to make a great impression on the country and to win him support in quarters previously hostile.

The greatest mark of his political career was made however by his splendid bearing and his firm and well-measured action at the critical period of nullification. Gen. Jackson's figure appears truly colossal as seen athwart that storm. He did not care for Clay's compromise, and would have preferred to crush the treason *directly*.

Professor Sumner does not concede him unqualified credit for his action with regard to nullification, since "if Jackson had done his duty in regard to Georgia and the Indians, nullification would have never attained any strength." Be this as it may, Jackson's previous sympathy with States rights views rendered all the more effective when it came the famous utterance, "Our Federal Union; it must be preserved;" and the hand which had been stayed in the case of Georgia recalcitrant on a lesser issue, was perhaps all the stronger for that delay when it was raised in defence of the existence of the Union.

Jackson carried out consistently and boldly his policy of reducing the public burdens. He paid off the debt and reduced the taxes. His policy as to internal improvements, whether approved or not, was vigorous and consistent. It would seem to indicate some administrative capacity in the man that, as our author finds, "he educated his party, for that generation at least, up to a position of party hostility to special legislation of every kind." The policy of selling the public lands to actual settlers only, and at the bare cost of selling, Mr. Parton believes to have been the President's own idea. His veto of the distribution act, accompanied with objections "strong and pertinent," was one of the instances in which Jackson's use of the veto power was abundantly justified. In his issue of the "specie circular" we find at least one financial measure of Jackson which was as sound as vigorous, since it turned back some tens of millions, says Benton, of bank-paper, not of specie value, which was on its way to the land offices to be changed into land. The good which Jackson did does not fail to secure recognition, as to its objective value, at the hands of our author, though it is rarely set in a light of advantage. But when it is brought under examination it proves to yield no evidence of any kind of greatness. We quote here a passage which seems to gather up the book's answer to its proposed problem, What Jackson was, and what he did with his chances: "It came in his way to do some good, to check some bad tendencies, and to strengthen some good ones, but the moment the historian tries to analyze these acts and to bring them for purposes of generalization into relations with the standpoint or

doctrine by which Jackson acted, that moment he perceives that Jackson acted from spite, pique, instinct, prejudice, or emotion, and the influence he exerted sinks to the level of an incident or an accident." Much the same view of Jackson's inner springs of action is taken by Von Holst, though he concedes to him in a rather casual way the possession of "great parts."

The elements yielded by our author's psychological analysis of the man are all there, and a recognition of their influence is essential to any explanation of his actions and character. But on the logical principle of sufficient reason something more than the operation of these fitful elements would seem to be required in explanation of the influence which Jackson exerted on his time. The man who could so triumphantly ride the storm his daring measures had excited against him, who could confront successfully such a triumvirate of opposition as that formed by Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, who could fight down the thirty-five-million dollar power of the Bank must have possessed in no ordinary degree some kind of mental ability, and must have acted from some basis of coherent and vigorous conceptions. Passion and will were fused with all his intellectual operations, and his ideas apparently wrought themselves clear in action. He did his thinking as he went along. Ignorant, apparently, of introspection, and reaching no results by connected logical process, he was one of those

"Whose life was work; whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life."

His political career abounded in inconsistencies, yet certain governing ideas seem to have animated it from first to last. His mind had grasped the crude, barbaric idea of natural liberty with a force which seemed to render it impermeable to the conception of institutional liberty. Feeling intensely his own life and the life of the fellow-beings around him, he strove to reach by the shortest path the ends which seemed to him desirable for and desired by the people. His idea of popular freedom would appear to find its realization in a state of affairs which Mr. Bagehot represents as desiderated by many modern reformers—"that is, when an eager, absolute man might do exactly what other eager men wished and do it immediately." Such seems to have been Jackson's conception of what is involved in the real supremacy of the popular will. It led him into most singular assumptions as to his function in respect to the other departments of government, with reference to which he assumed to represent in a more immediate and direct fashion the will of the people; the representative of the American people seems in his view to occupy an independent position as an author-

ized administrator of the common thought. Webster divined clearly the attitude of the President's mind, and appears to address himself to it directly in the exposition of the nature of constitutional liberty contained in his speech on the Presidential Protest. "Liberty," he urged, in memorable language, "is only to be preserved by maintaining constitutional restraints and divisions of power. Nothing is more deceptive or more dangerous than the pretence of a desire to simplify government. . . . The spirit of liberty is indeed a bold and fearless spirit, but is also a sharp-sighted spirit. . . . It demands checks; it seeks for guards; it insists on securities. . . . It will not permit power to overstep its prescribed limits, though benevolence, good intent, and patriotic purpose come along with it." But the idea of institutional liberty, as thus expressed, while incorporated into our institutions, was so far from having been assimilated by the mind of Jackson that he habitually and sincerely acted upon a very different conception, which became more intense after the ratification of his course implied in his re-election.

Jackson was consistent in his adherence to his far better and not less favorite ideas of economy and of "simplicity" in government, and doubtless his loyalty to these was a source of much of his power with the masses. His "plain system" was earnestly carried out. His vetoes of bills for internal improvements saved the Government from great expenditures.

He was devoted to the reserved rights of the states, yet no less concerned for the Union when its existence seemed to him to be actually endangered.

Jackson was thus a man of fixed ideas in certain directions; not as to these, at least, the instrument of others' views operating through his prejudices and passions. The enthusiasm of a Cobbett would hardly claim for General Jackson the possession of a many-sided intellect, and in no instance of his life was action ever "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." But in regard to many matters, and after a vigorous fashion of his own, he would appear to have done his own thinking. Benton describes those members of Congress who "confided in the sagacity and provident foresight of Jackson," as "by no means inconsiderable, either in number or judgment." Parton credits him with a "swift intuition."

Data seem to be wanting for a full and conclusive judgment as to what Jackson "was," since his public papers were inspired rather than actually composed by him, while there is reason to believe that his public acts frequently reflected directly the motives and purposes of others who possessed his confidence. Yet certain massive lineaments of mind and character seem to stand out distinguishably, accounting for some part, at least, of the wonderful influence which this man exercised upon his time. Deduct-

ing all that must evidently be deducted from the popular contemporary estimate of his greatness, the colossal figure, though shattered and diminished, is not wrecked.

While some parts of Professor Sumner's criticism of a once popular idol may seem to be conducted in an iconoclastic spirit, any exceptions which may reasonably be taken will not materially affect the force of the illustration afforded of the evils inevitable upon intrusting to unskilled hands the highest political powers. The unique value of this book, however, is found in its philosophical exhibition of the forces, political, economic, and social, which influenced the political development of the period referred to, and its explanation of the tortuous ways of party by the interworking of these forces, modified by the aims and efforts of individuals. New light is thus cast upon more than one unclear passage in our history. And the book is one which will effectually serve the cause of education in political and economic science, to the advancement of which Professor Sumner has so ably and variously contributed by tongue and pen.

GEORGE B. NEWCOMB

¹ Andrew Jackson as a Public Man: What he was, what chances he had, and what he did with them. By William Graham Sumner, Professor of Political and Social Science in Yale College. [American Statesmen Series.] 16mo, pp. 402. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

THE CONFEDERATION PERIOD.—In a lecture before the Rhode Island Historical Society on this period of the Republic, Professor Gammell, after tracing the course of Alexander Hamilton, says: "In its political aspects it is the dreariest period of American history. It fully justifies the words of Mr. Hamilton, 'A nation without a national government is an awful spectacle.' But the political condition of a people is always a reflection of their moral and social condition, and the testimony of contemporaries abundantly proves how true this was of the confederation period. Washington writes of it thus: 'From the high ground we stood upon, from the plain path which invited our footsteps, to be so fallen, so lost, is really mortifying; but virtue, I fear, has, in a great degree, taken its departure from our land, and the want of a disposition to do justice is the source of the national embarrassments.' This certainly was not the heroic age of American history. The age of the early colonists, of Captain John Smith and the settlers at Jamestown, of the Pilgrim Fathers, of Miles Standish and John Eliot and Roger Williams, better deserves the name. And so do those recent days which we all remember, which witnessed the great uprising of the people in defence of the perilled Republic. The astonishing fact is that, with such a government, and with ideas so narrow as its basis, national independence was secured at all, and that, when secured, it was not immediately lost."

REPRINTS

A Voyage set out from the Citie of Bristoll at the charge of the chiefeſt Merchants and Inhabitants of the ſaid Citie with a ſmall Ship and a Barke for the diſcouerie of the North part of Virginia, in the yeere 1603. vnder the command of me MARTIN PRINGE.



PON many probable and reasonable inducements, vsed vnto sundry of the chiefeſt Merchants of *Bristoll*, by Master *Richard Hakluyt* Prebendary of Saint *Augustines* the Cathedrall Church of the said Citie, after diuers meetings and due consultation they resolved to set forth a Voyage for the farther Discoverie of the North part of *Virginia*. And first they sent the said Master *Hakluyt* accompanied with

M. Salterne yet lueth neither is his scale dead to this action. He is now a Minister and hath both by word and writing to mee testified his affection to *Virginia*.

one Master *John Angell*, and Master *Robert Saltern* (which had beene in the said Discoverie the yeere before with Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*) to obtaine permission of Sir *Walter Raleigh* (which had a most ample Patent of all those parts from *Queene Elizabeth*) to entermeddle and deale in that action. Leauē being obtained of him vnder his hand and Seale, they speedily prepared a small ship called the *Speedwell* in burthen about fiftie tunnes, manning the same with some thirtie men and Boyes, wherein went for Master and chiefe Commander in the Voyage one *Martin Pring*, a man very sufficient for his place, and *Edmund Iones* his Mate, and *Robert Salterne* aboute mentioned, as their chiefe Agent, with a Barke called the *Discoverer*, of six and twentie tunnes or thereabout, wherein went for Master *William Browne*, and *Samuell Kirkland* his Mate, both good and skilfull Mariners, being thirteene men and a Boy in all in that Barke. The aforesaid ship and Barke were plentifully victualled for eight monethes, and furnished with slight Merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the Countrey, as Hats of diuers colours, greene, blue and yellow, apparell of coarse Kersie and Canuasse readie made, Stockings and Shooes, Sawes, Pick-axes, Spades and Shouels, Axes, Hatchets, Hookes, Knives, Sizzers, Hammers, Nails, Chissels, Fish-hookes, Bels, Beades, Bugles, Looking-glasses, Thimbles, Pinnes, Needles, Threed, and such like. They set saile from *Kingrode* the twentieth day of March.

M. Pring whose Voyage to the East Indies are in the former Tome.

April 10. 1603.

We set saile from *Milford Hauen* (where the winds had stayed vs a fortnight, in which spacē we heard of *Queen Elizabeths* death) the tenth of April 1603. In our course we passed by the Iles of the *Açores*, had first sight of the *Pike*, and afterward of the Iland of *Cerno* and *Flores*, and after we had runne some fiue hundred leagues, we fell with a multitude of small Ilands on the North Coast of *Virginia*, in the latitude of 43. degrees, the of Iune, which Ilands wee found very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grasse and sundry sorts of Trees, as Cedars, Spruce, Pines, and Firre-trees. Heere wee found an excellent fishing for Cods, which are better then those of *New-found-land*, and withall we saw good and Rockie ground fit to drie them vpon: also we see no reason to the contrary, but that Salt may bee

They discover many Ilands.

Good fishing place.

made in these parts, a matter of no small importance. We sayled to the South-west end of these Ilands, and there rode with our ships vnder one of the greatest. One of them we named *Foxe Iland*, because we found those kind of beasts thereon. So *Foxe Iland*. passing through rest with our Boates to the mayne Land, which lieth for a good space North-east and South-west, we found very safe riding among them, in sixe, seuen, eight, ten and twelue fathomes. At length comming to the Mayne in the latitude of 43. degrees and an halfe, we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found foure Inlets, the most Easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but hauing passed ouer the barre, wee rann vp into it fiue miles, and for a certain space found very good depth, and comming out againe, as we sailed South-westward, wee lighted vpon two other Inlets, which vpon our search we found to pierce not farre into the Land, the fourth and most Westerly was the best, which we rowed vp ten or twelue miles.

In all these places we found no people, but signes of fires where they had beene. Howbeit we beheld very goodly Groues and Woods replenished with tall Okes, Beeches, Pine-trees, Firre-trees, Hasels, Wichhasels and Maples. We saw here also sundry sorts of Beasts, as Stags, Deere, Beares, Wolues, Foxes, Lusernes, and Dogges with sharpe noses. But meeting with no Sassafras, we left these places with all the foresaid Ilands, shaping our course for *Sauage Rocke*, discovered the yeere before by Captaine *Gosnold*, where going vpon the Mayne we found people, with whom we had no long conuersation, because here also we could find no Sassafras. Departing hence we bare into that greate Gulfe which Captaine *Gosnold* ouer-shot the yeere before, coasting and finding people on the North side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed ouer, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and odde minutes: where we went on Land in a certaine Bay, which we called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the Worshipfull Master *John Whitson* then Maior of the Citie of *Bristol*, and one of the chiefe Aduenturers, and finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adioyning, wee called it *Mount Aldworth*, for Master *Robert Aldworths* sake a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage, as M. *Aldworth*. we'll with his Purse as with his trauell. Here we had sufficient quantitie of Sassafras.

At our going on shore, vpon view of the people and sight of the place, wee thought it conuenient to make a small baricado to keepe diligent watch and ward in, for the aduertizement and succour of our men, while they should worke in the Woods. During our abode on shore, the people of the Countrey came to our men sometimes ten, twentie, fortie or threescore, and at one time one hundred and twentie at once. We vsed them kindly, and gaue them diuers sorts of our meanest Merchandize. They did eat Pease and Beanes with our men. Their own victuals were most of fish.

We had a youth in our company that could play vpon a Gitterne, in whose homely Musicke they tooke great delight, and would giue him many things, as Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinned of sixe foot long, which they vse for Girdles,

Dances.

Fawnes skinnes, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the midst of them, vsing many Sauage gestures, singing *Io, Ia, Io, Ia, Ia, Io*, : him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out vpon. Some few of them had plates of Brasse a foot long, and halfe a foote broad before their breasts. Their weapons are Bowes of fūe or sixe foot long of Witchhasell, painted blacke and yellow, the strings of three twists of sinewes, bigger then our Bow-strings. Their arrows are of a yard and an handfull long not made of Reeds, but of a fine light wood very smooth and round with three long and deepe blacke feathers of some Eagle, Vulture, or Kite, as closely fastened with some binding matter, as any Fletcher of ours can glue them on. Their Quiuers are full a yard long, made of long dried Rushes wrought about two handfuls broad aboue, and one handful beneath with prettie workes and compartiments, Diamant wise of red and other colours.

Weapons.

The great vse of Mastiues.

We carried with vs from *Bristoll* two excellent Mastiues, of whom the *Indians* were more afraid, then of twentie of our men. One of these Mastiues would carrie a halfe Pike in his mouth. And one Master *Thomas Bridges* a Gentleman of our company accompanied only with one of these Dogs, and passed sixe miles alone in the Countrey hauing lost his fellowes, and returned safely. And when we would be rid of the Sauages company wee would let loose the Mastiues, and suddenly with out-cryes they would flee away. These people in colour are inclined to a swart, tawnie, or Chestnut colour, not by nature but accidentally, and doe weare their haire brayded in foure parts, and trussed vp about their heads with a small knot behind: in which haire of theirs they sticke many feathers and toyes for brauerie and pleasure. They couer their priuities only with a piece of leather drawne betwixt their twists and fastened to their Girdles behind and before: whereunto they hang their bags of Tobacco. They seeme to bee somewhat iealous of their women, for we saw not past two of them, who weare Aprons of Leather skins before them downe to the knees, and a Beares skinne like an *Irish* Mantle ouer one shoulder. The men are of stature somewhat taller then our ordinary people, strong, swift, well proportioned, and giuen to treacherie, as in the end we perceiued.

Ornaments.

The fashion of their Boats.

Their Boats, whereof we brought one to *Bristoll*, were in proportion like a Wherrie of the Riuer of *Thames*, seunteene foot long and foure foot broad, made of the Barke of a Birch-tree, farre exceeding in bignesse those of *England*: it was sowed together with strong and tough Oziers or twigs, and the seames couered ouer with Rozen or Turpentine little inferiour in sweetnesse to Frankincense, as we made trial by burning a little thereof on the coales at sundry times after our comming home: it was also open like a Wherrie, and sharpe at both ends, sauing that the beake was a little bending rounding vpward. And though it carried nine men standing vpriight, yet it weighed not at the most aboue sixtie pounds in weight, a thing almost incredible in regard of the largenesse and capacitie thereof. Their Oares were flat at the end like an Ouen peelee, made of Ash or Maple very light and strong, about two yards long, wherewith they row very swiftly: Passing vp a Riuer we saw certaine Cottages together, abandoned by the Sauages, and not farre off we beheld

Excellent sweet Rozen and Turpentine.

their Gardens and one among the rest of an Acre of ground, and in the same was Their Gardens. sowne Tobacco, Pompions, Cowcumbers and such like; and some of the people had Maiz or *Indian* Wheate among them. In the fields we found wild Pease, Strawber- Corne and plants. ries very faire and bigge, Gooseberries, Raspices, Hurts and other wild fruits.

Having spent three Weekes vpon the Coast before we came to this place where we meant to stay & take in our lading, according to our instructions giuen vs in charge before our setting forth, we pared and digged vp the Earth with shouels, and sowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about seuen Weeks, although they were late sowne, came vp very well, giuing certain testimonie of the goodnesse of the Climate and of the Soyle, And it seemeth that Oade, Hempe, Flaxe, Rape-seed and such like which require a rich and fat ground, would prosper excellently in these parts. For in diuers places here we found grasse about knee deepe.

As for Trees the Country yeeldeth Sassafras a plant of souereigne vertue for the French Poxe, and as some of late haue learnedly written good against the Plague and many other Maladies; Vines, Cedars, Okes, Ashes, Beeches, Birch trees, Cherie trees bearing fruit whereof wee did eate, Hasels, Wich-hasels, the best wood of all other to make Sope-ashes withall, Walnut-trees, Maples, holy to make Bird-lime with, and a kinde of tree bearing a fruit like a small red Peare-plum with a crowne or knop on the top (a plant whereof carefully wrapped vp in earth, Master *Robert Salterne* brought to Bristoll). We found also low trees bearing fair Cherries. There were likewise a white kind of Plums which were not growne to their perfect ripeness. With diuers other sorts of trees to vs unknowne.

The Beasts here are Stags, fallow Deere in abundance, Beares, Wolues, Foxes, Lusernes, and (some say) Tygres, Porcupines, and Dogges with sharpe and long noses, with many other sorts of wild beasts, whose Cases and Furies being hereafter purchased by exchange may yeeld no smal gaine to vs. Since as we are certainly informed, the *Frenchmen* brought from *Canada* the value of thirtie thousand Crownes in the yeere 1604, almost in Beuers and Otters skinned only. The most vsual Fowles are Eagles, Vultures, Hawkes, Cranes, Herons, Crows, Gulls, and great store of other Riuer and Sea-fowles. And as the Land is full of Gods good blessings, so is the Sea replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, as Cods sufficient to lade many ships, which we found vpon the Coast in the moneth of Iune, Seales to make Oil withall, Mulletts, Turbutts, Mackerels, Herrings, Crabs, Lobsters, Creuises, and Muscles with ragged Pearles in them.

By the end of Iuly we had laded our small Barke called the *Discouerer*, with as much Sassafras as we thought sufficient, and sent her home into *England* before, to giue some speedie contentment to the Aduenturers: who arriued safely in *Kingrode* Barke sent home. about a fortnight before vs. After their departure we so bestirred our selues, that our shippe also had gotten in her lading, during which time there fell out this accident. On a day about noonetide while our men which vsed to cut downe Sassafras in the Woods were asleepe, as they vsed to doe for two houres in the heat of the

Danger of the
Sauages.

day, there came downe about seuen score Sauages armed with their Bowes and Arrowes, and enuironed our House or Barricado, wherein were foure of our men alone with their Muskets to keepe Centinell, whom they sought to haue come downe vnto them, which they vtterly refused, and stood vpon their guard. Our Master likewise being very carefull and circumspect hauing not past two with him in the shippe put the same in the best defence he could, lest they should haue inuaded the same, and caused a piece of great Ordnance to bee shot off, to giue terrour to the *Indians*, and warning to our men which were fast asleepe in the Woods: at the noyse of which Peece they were a little awaked, and beganne a little to call for *Foole* and *Gallant*, their great and fearefull Mastiues, and full quietly laid themselves downe againe, but beeing quickned vp eftsoones againe with a second shot they rowed vp themselves, betooke them to their weapons and with their Mastiues, great *Foole* with an halfe Pike in his mouth drew downe to their ship: whom when the *Indians* beheld afarre off, with the Mastiue which they most feared, in dissembling manner they turned all to a iest and sport, and departed away in friendly manner: yet not long after, euen the day before our departure, they set fire on the Woods where wee wrought, which wee did behold to burne for a mile space, and the very same day that wee weighed Anchor, they came downe to the shoare in greater number, to wit, very neere two hundred by our estimation, and some of them came in their Boates to our ship, and would haue had vs come in again: but we sent them backe, and would none of their entertainment.

About the eighth or ninth of August wee left this excellent Hauen at the entrance whereof we found twentie fathomes water, and rode at our ease in seuen fathomes being Land-locked, the Hauen winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaile, and it is in latitude of one and forty degrees and fve and twentie minutes.

This by the way is not to be forgotten, that our Captaine fell so much to the Northward because he would find high grounds, where commonly the best Hauens are: which also fell out to his expectation. We also obserued that we could find no Sassafras but in sandie ground. In our returne we brought our selues into the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees about the *Acores* for certaine causes, and within fve weekes space came from our Port of *Virginia*, into the Soundings of *England*, but there being long encountered with Easterly winds, we came at length into *Kingrode*, the second of October 1603. The Discouerer was out fve moneths and an halfe. The *Speedwell* was out sixe moneths vpon the Voyage.

[NOTE—The foregoing relation is now reprinted, possibly, for the first time. The title and initial-letter are in *fac simile*; this piece being considered essential to a full understanding of the voyage. From "Purchas his Pilgrim," Vol. IV.]

ARTICLES FROM THE CHURCH OF LEYDEN

[These articles, after having slumbered for about two centuries, were contributed by the Hon. George Bancroft to the Collections of the New York Historical Society (S. 2., vol. iii., part I., p. 301). Since they were printed by the above Society they have had but little attention]:

1617.

[S. P. O. Am^a & W. Ind. Virg.]

SEVEN Artikes which y^e Church of Leyden sent to y^e Counsell of England to bee considered of in respectt of their judgments occasioned about their going to Virginia Anno 1618.

1. To y^e confession of fayth published in y^e name of y^e Church of England & to every artikell thereof wee do wth y^e reformed churches wheer wee live & also els where assent wholly.

2. As wee do acknolidd y^e docktryne of fayth theer tawght so do wee y^e fruites and effectks of y^e same docktryne to y^e begetting of saving fayth in thousands in y^e land (conformistes & reformistes) as y^e ar called wth whom also as wth our bretheren wee do desyer to keepe spirituall communion in peace and will practis in our parts all lawfull thinges.

3. The King's Majesty wee acknolidd for Supreame Governer in his Dominion in all causes and over all parsons, and y none maye decklyne or apeale from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but y in all thinges obedience is dewe unto him, ether active, if y^e thing commanded be not agaynst God's woord, or passive yf itt be, except pardon can bee obtained.

4. Wee judg itt lawfull for his Majesty to apoynt bishops, civill overseers, or officers in awthority onder hime, in y^e severall provinces, dioses, congregations or parrishes to oversee y^e Churches and governe them civilly according to y^e Lawes of y^e Land, untto whom y^e ar in all thinges to geve an account & by them to bee ordered according to Godlynes.

5. The authority of y^e present bishops in y^e Land wee do acknolidd so far forth as y^e same is indeed derived from his Majesty untto them and as y^e proceed in his name, whom wee will also therein honor in all thinges and hime in them.

6. Wee beleeve y^t no sinod, classes, convocation or assembly of Ecclesiasticall Officers hath any power or awthority att all but as y^e same by y^e Majestraet geven unto them.

7. Lastly, wee desyer to geve untto all Superiors dew honnor to preserve y^e unity of y^e speritt wth all y feare God, to have peace wth all men what in us lyeth & wheerein wee err to bee instructed by any. Subscribed by

JOHN ROBINSON,

and

WILLIAM BRUSTER

WHY DID THE PILGRIMS LEAVE HOLLAND FOR AMERICA?

[The question is fully answered by Nathaniel Morton, Secretary of Plymouth Colony, in his "New Englands Memorial: or, A brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the Planters of New England in America; With special Reference to the first Colony thereof, Called New-Plimouth;" printed at Cambridge "by S. G. and M. J. for

John Usher of Boston, 1669." The preliminary address "To the Reader," signed by John Higginson and Thomas Thacher, bears the date of March 26, 1669, and states that "It is much to be desired that there might be extant *A Compleate History of the United Colonies of New England*, that God may have the praise of his goodness to his People here, and that the present and future Generations may have the benefit thereof. This being not attainable for the present, nor suddenly to be expected, it is very expedient, that (while sundry of the Eldest Planters are yet living) *Records and Memorials of Remarkable Providences* be preserved and published, that the true Originals of these Plantations may not be lost; that New-England, in all time to come, may remember the day of her smallest things; and that there may be a furniture of Materials for a true and full history in after times." To this they add that, "For these and such like Reasons we are willing to Recommend unto the Reader this present Narrative as a Useful Piece. The Author is an approved godly man, and one of the first Planters at *Plimouth*." Morton says (p. 2), "Although this church was at peace, and in rest at this time, yet they took up thoughts of removing themselves into *America* with common consent; the Proposition of removing thither being set on foot and prosecuted by the Elders upon just and weighty grounds: for, although they did quietly and sweetly enjoy their Church-liberties under the *States*, yet they foresaw that *Holland* would be no place for their Church and Posterity to continue in comfortably, at least in that measure that they hoped to finde abroad; and that for these Reasons following,

which I shall recite as received from themselves." He then gives the reasons in their order]:

First, Because themselves were of a different Language from the *Dutch*, where they lived, and were settled in their way, insomuch that in ten years time, whiles their Church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of Observation of the Lords-day as a Sabbath, or any other thing amiss amongst them.

Secondly, Because their Countrymen, who came over to joyn with them, by reason of the hardness of the Country, soon spent their Estates, and were then forced either to return back to *England*, or to live very meanly.

Thirdly, That many of their Children, through the extreme necessity that was upon them, although of the best dispositions, and graciously inclined, and willing to bear part of their Parents burthens, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labours, that although their Spirits were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepid in their early youth, and the vigour of Nature consumed in the very bud. And that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be born, was, that many by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of Youth in that Country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on their necks, and departing from their Parents: Some became Souldiers, others took upon them farre Voyages by Sea, and other—some worse tending to dis-

soluteness, and the destruction of their Souls, to the great grief of their Parents, and the dishonor of God; and that the place being a place of great licentiousness and liberty to Children, they could not educate them, nor could they give them due correction without reproof or reproach from their Neighbours.

Fourthly, That their Posterity would in few generations become *Dutch*, and so lose their interest in the *English* Nation, they being desirous rather to enlarge His Majesties Dominions, and to live under their Naturall PRINCE.

Fifthly and lastly, and which was not the least, a great hope and inward Zeal they had of laying some good Foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the Gospel of the Kingdome of Christ in those remote parts of the World; yea although they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for the performance of so great a Work.

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

["Mourt's Relation" (p. 5) says, "Before we came to harbour, obseruing some not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue some appearance of faction, it was thought good that there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and submit to such government and governours, as we should by common consent agree to make and chose, and set our hands to this that followes word for word"]:

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnderwritten, the loyall Subiects of our dread soveraigne Lord

King JAMES, by the grace of God of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Having vndertaken for the Glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plante the first Colony in the Northerne parts of VIRGINIA, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselues together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enact constitute, and frame such iust and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In wnesse whereof we haue herevnder subscribed our names, *Cape Cod* 11. of *November*, in the year of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord King JAMES, of *England, France, and Ireland* 18. and of *Scotland* 54. *Anno Domini* 1620.

[The author of the compact probably made an innocent departure in saying that this was the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, as, also, in saying that the voyage was undertaken for the purpose of settling there. The original destination was the region of the Hudson. The disaffected persons may have included Stephen Hopkins the Londoner, if he was the person who intrigued at Bermuda in 1609, though afterward pardoned. In regard to the disaffection which led to the compact, Bradford (p.

89), after observing that it did not originate with the Leyden men, says that the "strangers" threatened, "that when they came ashore they would use their own libertie; for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to another Government, with which y^e Virginia company had nothing to doe. And partly that shuch an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure." In this argument one may discover characteristics of Hopkins.]

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

ORIGINAL LETTER ON PENN'S PATENT

Though written two hundred years ago, there is a touch of freshness in the following letter announcing Penn's success in acquiring the territory of Pennsylvania. The writer's name does not appear, but that he was some official in the English Government may be inferred from a remark at the close of the document, and the fact that it was addressed to Mr. Lewin, who was then in New York as a commissioner to investigate the revenues of that province. We are favored with a duplicate of a copy of the original preserved in the British Museum, as follows:

[LONDON, — 1681.]

"At the distance you are setled at present from this place I imagine you are not vnwilling to hear what news is stirring here, especially what may relate to the Government of New Yorke, and therefore I would not let pass this opportunity

to give you an account of a Patent that is lately passd for the Government and Propriety of a Tract of Land now to bee called Pensilvania bordering vpon New Jersey and Maryland and otherwise bounded according to the Latitude and Longitude described in the inclosed Paper.

"It was in the month of June last that M^r Penn peticoned His Ma^{ty} for this Grant in consideration of his Father's merits and several Debts which are due to him from y^e Crown. And the examination of his pretensions was then referred to the Lords of the Committee for Trade and floreign Plantations who proceeded with all possible circumspection to prevent any encroachment that might be made vpon any Neighboring Colony. And therefore the first step they made was to send copies of the petition vnto my Lord Baltimore's Agents, and to Sir John Werden as Secr^y to His Royal Highness. And M^r Penn did alsoe apply himselfe to the Duke in order to satisfy him concerning the intended Boundaries; and several months passd before any further progress was made in this business. But at length as well S^r John Werden as an Agent for my Lord Baltimore attended the Committee and were fully heard as to the interest of each party. And altho their Lo^{ps} had before consulted M^r Attorney General touching the legality of the Grant desired by M^r Penn and y^e Draught presented by him, yet that all things might bee finally adjusted and explained to the satisfaction of every one concerned in the passing of the patent, my Lord Cheif Justice North who is alsoe one of the Committee was desired by the Board to take particular care in y^e right

stating and settlement of the Boundaries with due respect to the Neighboring Plantations and for the better effecting hereof Sir John Werden and my Lord Baltimore's Agent attended my Lord Cheif Justice North at his Chamber, and vpon laying before his Lo^p their respective interests, and both of them acquiescing in y^e Bounds as they stand now described in M^r Penn's Patent they were presented to the Committee and agreed on by their Lo^{ps}. And after a Report offerd in Council in pursuance of the first Reference in June last, His Ma^y was pleased to order the Draught of a Patent which had been settled by the Committee to pass the Great Seale in the usual forms. And thereupon M^r Penn on the fourth of March last became Absolute Proprietary of Pensilvania soe named by the King himselfe.

"M^r Penn has besides obtained from His Ma^y a Letter of Recommendation to my Lord Baltimore directing him to give order for the setting of Landmarks between Maryland and this New Province; together with a Declaration to such Persons as are already settled in it requiring them to give all due obedience to M^r Penn according to the powers of his Patent.

"Sir I have perhaps detained you too long wth this Narrative but knowing well by the experience my Station gives mee, how welcome a right Information of things is to foreigne Governors, I thought I could not lay hold of a better occasion to court your correspondency which I will endeavor to render as vseful to yo^r selfe as it will bee gratefull vnto mee.

"The King has thought fit to put out a

Declaration touching the Dissolution of the late Parliaments of which I have sent you two copies here inclosed for yo^r selfe and yo^r friends. And if I can bee further serviceable vnto you I beg your commands to _____"

Endorsed—"Lett^r to Mr. Lewen at New York concern^g M^r Pen's Patent."

COMMISSION OF WILLIAM PENN TO
CAPTAIN THOMAS HOLMES

[In the collections of the New York Historical Society there is preserved a parchment bearing the signature and seal of William Penn, dated February 2, 1682.]

WILLIAM PENN, *Chief Proprietary
and Governour of Penn: Silvania,*
To Cap^t THOMAS HOLMES *Greeting*

Reposing special Trust and Confiden in thy Integrity and Ability I do hereby Constitute and Appoint thee First Assistant to my Cousin William Markham Deputy Governo^r of Pennsylvania with him for me and in my name to Act in all things relating to the Good of the Province and also my own private affairs: For which this shall be thy sufficient Warrant. Given under my hand and seal at Gravesend the one and twentieth day of the second month in the year one Thousand six hundred Eighty and two
W^M PENN

NUMBER OF NEW ENGLAND HOUSES
IN 1675

[The following paper is communicated by Mr. T. M. Thompson, of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. It is from the Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 670, with the approximate date of 1675. The reader will notice that the

figures are on the decimal system, and that the footings are not all correct] :

An account of all the trading Towns and Ports lying vpon the Sea & Nauigable Riuers, wth number of Houses in every Towne.

South Connecticut Colony.

	Houses.
Rye contains	30
Greenw ^{ch}	40
Stamford	100
Narwasset	50
Hairefeild	300
Stratford	200
Milford	200
New hauen	500
Brandford	050
Gilford	100
Hommonosett	040
	<hr/> 1610

Vpon Connecticut Riuer, a bard harbour : 3 fathom water.

West Pay Brook: a ffort	100	
Thirty mile Jsland	40	
Lyme	60	(Six)
Middle towne		
West Say brook, a fort	100	
Lyme	060	
Thirty mile Jsland	40	
Middle towne	60	
Weathers feild	150	
Hartford	500	
Winsor	400	
Harmington	100	
Spring feild	050	Burnt.
Hadley	100	
Northampton	100	
Hatfeild	050	
Westfeild	030	
Deerefeild	030	

Colony of Rodd Jsland.

New London	200
Norwick	040
Stonington	100
Burnt. Wickford	050
	<hr/> 1770

Warwick	50	Burnt.
Patunett	50	Burnt.
Prouidence	200	Burnt.
Newport	400	
Portsmouth	200	
	<hr/> 900	

New Plymouth Colony.

Secunck	100
Swansye	050
Lanton	150
Burnt. Dartmouth	
Sandwich	100
Yarmouth	150
Nawsett	100
Barstable	150
Plymouth	100
Dunberry	100
Scituate	300
Green harbour	100
	<hr/> 1300

Massachusetts Colony.

Hull	80
Hingham	250
Waymouth	250
Bruntrye	250
Dorchester	350
Boston	2500
Charles Towne	500
Salem	500
	<hr/> 4630

New Hampshire.

ffort. Marblehead	50
Cape Ann	50
Ipswich	400
New berry	300
Salis berry	200
Hampton	200
Greate Jsland	50
Portsmouth	200
Douer	100
Exiter	150
Jsles of Shoales	100
	<hr/> 1800

<i>Road Island.</i>	
Porthmouth.....	200
Newport.....	400
12010 houses.	
1 Castle.	
3 fforts.	
2 more at Boston.	
Castle at Boston contains.	
Brick fort.....	12 guns.
Plat form.....	7
At Marble head 1 fort.....	
Say brook one fort.....	12
Great Island.....	5

NOTES

THE PILGRIM FATHERS—Mingled with the December blasts, swelling on their way through the leafless land, one always seems to detect the notes of the Pilgrims, who at this season sent up from the New England coast their hymns of cheer.

In the autumn of 1620 the adventurers now known under the name of "the Pilgrim Fathers" were sailing from Holland for the region of the Hudson, when the *Mayflower*, smitten by storms, and staggering amid the waves, was forced to take refuge in the harbor at the end of Cape Cod. Why they came over we learn from the six reasons of Nathaniel Morton. What they believed may be discovered in the seven articles of Leyden. What they finally purposed is made known by the compact drawn up in their ship's cabin, all of which will be found reprinted in the present number.

In leaving Leyden they devised no digested plan of general colonization, and when it became necessary to establish their settlement on Massachusetts Bay it was realized that they were without au-

thority to take up land there. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his friends of the North Virginia Company furnished them with a charter, and they quietly occupied a place already, as it were, prepared, settling at "Accomac," named "Plimouth," in 1616, by Prince Charles, and described by Smith as a suitable site, his judgment being confirmed by Dermer in 1619.

Once on the ground, it was impossible to retreat, and thus, amid famine and death, they held to their stern task. So slender was their scheme, that if the carelessness of the Billington boy who played with powder in the cabin of the *Mayflower* had been followed by ordinary results, there never would have been any "Pilgrim Fathers," the venture simply ending in a sudden precipitation to the bottom of the sea. During the summer of 1621, though the fields were whitening for the harvest, a scarcity of food drove them, with little success, to the Maine coast, then the scene of English enterprise. About half of their number had perished the previous winter, while the escape of the remainder is a subject of wonder. The hand of an overruling power seems to be visible in connection with their history; yet their history has never been written, while their principles have been misunderstood. This, however, is not their fault. In their writings they reveal themselves as men of their own age, not of ours; and while they feared God they honored their sovereign. They were Englishmen, feeling a just pride in all that formed the glory of their native land, and, whatever they may have suffered, they spoke respectfully of their venerable mother church, having no conception of any "state without a king."

There were unsettled spirits and profane men in the Mayflower company, but the men of influence were persons of chastened thought. Thus the humble Pilgrims did their work for the most part in a lofty spirit, and whatever may have been their faults, they exhibited genuine nobility of mind. It is a pleasure, therefore, to give the founders of Plymouth the place of honor in the present number of *THE MAGAZINE*; with the return of this anniversary dwelling upon their unequalled devotion, their quaint simplicity of character, their rare patience and constancy, and upon the depth and sweetness of their faith.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH—In the introduction to his "The Historye of the Bermudaes, or Summer Islands," General Lefroy, who attributes the work to John Smith, furnishes some additional information about that worthy. His baptismal register is preserved at Willoughby, Lincoln. He was the son of George Smith, and was baptized January 6, 1579, old style, and he died on June 21, 1631, rather unexpectedly. At the time of his death Captain John Smith was at work upon a "History of the Sea," with the devout hope that "if God be pleased I live to finish it." The portrait of Smith in the present number is engraved after the portrait on his map of 1616.

THE PORTRAIT OF MILES STANDISH—The portrait given on page 794 of *THE MAGAZINE* was made by permission of Mrs. A. M. Winslow, of Plymouth, Mass., whose family possesses the original, an old oil painting, found in a book-store in Boston. The story of the picture is told in the

"Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society," 1877, page 324.

UNFORTUNATE TYPOS—Died at Elizabethtown, February 12, 1803, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, Mr. Matthew Green, printer. He was a native of Great Britain, and arrived in America [from London] in the year 1745. He is supposed to be the oldest printer in this country, having followed the business seventy-two years. His long residence here has rendered him generally known among the professors of the typographical art; by those of his particular acquaintance he will be much lamented. In the year 1784 Mr. Shepard Kolloch, editor of the *New Jersey Journal*, took him from the Poor House, in New York, and has supported him ever since. He was affectionate and grateful for the benefits he received from his Maker, thro' the agency of the family he lived in. In the year 1797 he lost the use of his legs, by which calamity he was rendered unable to walk, and had not been out of the house from that period until his demise; and in 1798 he was struck blind. His mental faculties were unimpaired, and he enjoyed a greater degree of health than is the common lot of mankind who arrive in his advanced age.—*Philadelphia Repository*, February 19, 1803.

Mr. Peter Edes, son of the ancient Peter, a patriarch of the typographical fraternity in Boston, is now at work at the printing business in Bangor, Me., at the advanced age of eighty. He is said to be in destitute circumstances, and an appeal has been made to the generosity of the Boston printers in his behalf. Mr. Edes suffered much from imprisonment,

etc., by the British during the Revolution. The printers in Boston contributed \$100 in one day for his relief.—*The Sun*, January 11, 1834.

W. K.

THE PATRIOTIC HEWITT FAMILY—The following notice appeared in the *Connecticut Gazette* of October 24, 1777, printed at New London, by Timothy Green: "Mr. Green, Please to insert in your Paper, That Deacon Walter Hewitt of Stonington, hath in the Troops fighting for the Liberties of the American States,—Two Sons who are Captains, Three who are Lieutenants, One an Ensign, and One a Fifer. The said Deacon Hewitt is in the sixty-seventh year of his age."

The names of these heroes should be rescued from oblivion. PETERSFIELD

BOLIVAR—The government of Venezuela has proclaimed July 24, 1883, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Simon Bolivar, a national holiday. The celebration of the day will include the opening of the railroad between Laguaira and Caracas, and the unveiling of "a statue of George Washington."

M. W. H.

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES—The petition lately presented to the Senate by members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, asking legislation to protect some extremely interesting antiquities in New Mexico and Arizona, has been referred to the Committee on Public Lands. The memorialists represent that there are in the Territories named, twenty-six towns of the Pueblo Indians

(besides many not occupied), containing about ten thousand inhabitants, who are remnants of a very ancient race; that the question of the origin of these Pueblos and the age of their decayed cities, and the use of some of their buildings, now magnificent ruins, constitute one of the leading problems of the antiquary and historian of the present age; and that relic hunters have carried away and scattered throughout Europe and America, many most valuable specimens from these extinct towns, thus making their historic study still more difficult and, in some particulars, nearly impossible. The petitioners accordingly pray the Government to take steps to preserve what remains. Senator Plumb, of the Committee, without anticipating what the Committee may recommend, suggests that the memorialists avail themselves of the license which now exists of going to the different localities and gathering up the relics, as parties from Philadelphia and Yale College have already done.

JUDGE VAN DER KEMP'S MANUSCRIPT—

In an appendix to the valuable address of Hon. John F. Seymour, at Trenton, N. Y., a list of the publications of Judge Fr. Adr. Van der Kemp is given, as furnished by Mr. Homes, of the State Library. It may be of interest to learn that a manuscript volume, by Judge Van der Kemp, is in the library of Harvard College, Cambridge, with, as Mr. Winsor says, "no marks on it to indicate any use of it, either by printer or otherwise." This manuscript is mentioned in Vol. IV., p. 31, of the "General Repository" for 1813.

QUERIES

KOSCIUSKO AS AN ARTIST—Reference is made in the June number of THE MAGAZINE (VIII., 441) to a pencil sketch of General Poor drawn by Kosciusko in 1780. I learn that he made a similar sketch of the Rev. John Mason, Chaplain of the New York line, which is still preserved by his descendants as a faithful portrait. Are there any more such specimens of the famous Pole's work?

J. T.

PORTRAITS—Inquiry is made respecting portraits of Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwest Territory under St. Clair, and afterward Governor of Mississippi. Also of General John Patterson, of the Revolutionary War, and later Representative in Congress from New York State. Do they exist, and where?

H. S.

THE HEAD OF KING GEORGE'S STATUE—Colonel Montresor tells a curious story of the fate of the head of his Majesty's statue that was pulled down by the Liberty Boys at Bowling Green, New York, in July, 1776. "Hearing," he writes, "that the Rebels had cut the King's head off the Equestrian statue (in the centre of the Ellipps, near the Fort) at New York, which represented George the 3d in the figure of Marcus Aurelius, and that they had cut the nose off, clipt the laurels that were wreathed round his head, and drove a musket Bullet part of the way through his head, and otherwise disfigured it, and that it was carried to Moore's Tavern, adjoining Fort Washington on New York Island, in order to be fixed on a Spike on the Truck of the Flag-

staff as soon as it could be got ready—I immediately sent Corby through the Rebel Camp in the beginning of September, 1776, to Cox, who kept the Tavern at King's Bridge to steal it from thence, and to bury it, which was effected, and was dug up on our arrival, and I rewarded the men, and sent the Head by the Lady Gage to Lord Townshend in order to convince them at home of the Infamous Disposition of the Ungrateful people of this distressed Country."—*"Evelyn's In America."*

What are supposed to be the mane and tail of the horse have, within a few years, found their way to the rooms of the New York Historical Society. According to traditions in the Wolcott family, the remainder of the statue was taken to Litchfield and converted into rebel bullets. Are there any manuscript accounts, as yet unpublished, giving full particulars of the pulling down of the statue, and showing what disposition was made of every part of it? Can Montresor be verified from American data?

*

HAMMOND, A. G.—Hammond was born at Tarrytown, N. Y. Held a commission in the Revolutionary Army from March 3, 1776, until the Army disbanded in 1783. In 1817 resided at Annapolis, Maryland. Who was he? H. E. H.

ROBINSON—Thomas Robinson, of Sussex, Del., is mentioned by Sabine as an extreme loyalist during the Revolution. Can any one add to Sabine's account?

H. E. H.

CATECHISING UNSCRIPTURAL—I have seen it stated somewhere that catechising

was pronounced unscriptural by some in New England, and that the church at Hingham especially was opposed to the custom. Where are the particulars to be found?

CATECHIST

FRIAR LEO—In 1863 a copper plate was dug up at Castine bearing the following inscription:

"1648 8 IVN. — F. LEO, PARISIN, CAPUC. Miss Posvi Hoc FYNDEM. In HNR ein Nræ DMÆ SANCTÆ SPEL"

Translated:

"1648, June 8.—I, Friar Leo, of Paris, Capuchin Missionary, laid this foundation in honor of our Lady of Holy Hope."

Can any one give any particulars about Friar Leo?

MAINE

WAS WASHINGTON AN ANGLER—Washington's interest in the horse is well known. I have heard it asserted that he was equally fond of fishing, but can find no data identifying him as follower of the meditative Walton. Can any of your readers aid me in this investigation?

DOBSON

THE TRAVELLER—The late Freeman Hunt, the founder and, till his death, the editor of the *Merchant's Magazine*, is said to have established about the year 1831, in New York City, a newspaper called *The Traveller*. I would like to be informed of the date of the first issue and how long it was published; also whether Mr. Hunt had a partner in the enterprise? Any other particulars about this newspaper will be acceptable.

JOHN WARD DEAN

Boston, Mass.

REPLIES

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC—On this subject [VIII. 705] the reader is referred to Bancroft's "History of the Formation of the Constitution" (i. 15), where, under date of December 29, 1780, he quotes the language of the New Jersey Legislative Council, which runs, that "Congress represents the federal republic." Mr. Bancroft says: "Thus early was that name applied to the United States." I know of nothing earlier, though prior to this it was common to refer to the colonies as "America."

MORTON

WASHINGTON'S MOSQUITO STORY—In THE MAGAZINE for January last there is a story extracted from Weld's "Travels in America," to the effect that General Washington told Weld that the Skenesborough mosquitoes used to bite through the thickest boots. Now, as General Washington was averse to joking, an irreverent reader might be led by the above story to doubt his perfect veracity. To relieve his character there should be added to the extract the following comment, found in Dwight's "Travels in New England and New York," London edition, 1823, vol. iv., p. 218: "A gentleman of great respectability, who was present when General Washington made the observation referred to, told me that he said, when describing these mosquitoes to Mr. Weld, that they 'bit through his stockings above his boots.'" F. BURDGE

"JOIN OR DIE" [VIII. 768]—Gordon states in the first volume of his "History of the American Revolution," p. 189, that the paper *Join or Die* was issued at Boston. Under date of September 21,

1765, he writes: "At Boston they took care to keep up the spirit of liberty, though they avoided former violences. A new political paper appeared, under the significant title of '*The Constitutional Courant*,' containing matters interesting to liberty, and no ways repugnant to loyalty; printed by Andrew Marvel, at the sign of the Bribe refused, on Constitution Hill, North America.' It wore a more significant head-piece—a snake cut into eight pieces," etc.

H.

O. K. [VIII. 703]—Those who remember the Presidential terms of General Andrew Jackson as well as I do, will recollect that among a host of other things said in abuse of Old Hickory, it was asserted that he was very illiterate as well as coarse and brutal, and instead of indorsing memorials, petitions, etc., "approved," the old General marked them O. K., being the initials of *oll korrekt*. This was told thousands of times, and often by persons who believed that General Jackson did not know how to spell "all correct." This was a "specimen brick" with the tall white hat, which, it was said, General Jackson threw on the ground or floor when in one of his towering passions, many people supposing that he destroyed a hat in this way every few days. In ten years after the close of his last term, 1847 [VIII. 703], the O. K. might have been carried across to Jamaica and put in use among Chinese and negroes, who knew as much about General Jackson as they did of Homer, but the same could not be said of English soldiers, who could remember back to January 8, 1815.

M. M. J.

BOSTON RIOT [VIII., 785]—In the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of the year 1778, Vol. 48, page 546, may be found the following account of the Boston riot:

"On the 23d of September a desperate Riot happened at Boston, occasioned, it is said, by the bakers denying bread to the captured seamen in British vessels, while they were employed in amply supplying those in the fleet of Count d'Estaing. Several were killed in this affray, and two French officers of high rank were much hurt in endeavoring to quell it. The Magistrates have since published a proclamation, offering a reward of three hundred dollars for the discovery of any of the ringleaders."

C. B. G.

BUFFALO, October 26th.

SOCIETIES

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a late meeting of the Society, Dr. Ellis opened the business with the announcement of the deaths of Dr. Robbins, and of the Hon. George P. Marsh and Mr. Frederic de Peyster, both highly respected honorary members of the Society. Of Dr. Robbins he spoke as follows:

"Some of us have just been in attendance upon the funeral of Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., who died at his summer home in Weston, Monday, the 11th instant. For the last few years he had been wholly deprived of sight, and had been for several months visited by many infirmities. He had been a member of this Society for thirty-seven years, during seven of which he was its Recording Secretary. For the thirteen years following he conducted its official correspondence,

having been elected Corresponding Secretary in 1864, which office he resigned in 1877. His continued earnest interest in our work and objects has been touchingly exhibited to us by his patient presence and his quiet attention. He had performed for the Society many laborious and valuable services, exercising industry, good judgment, a fine taste, thoroughness of research, and a supreme regard for accuracy in historical statements in his offices and in his membership of committees on our publications. At the time of his death Dr. Robbins was in his seventy-second year, he having been born in Lynn, February 14, 1810, the son of an eminent physician. He graduated at Harvard in 1829, and, having completed a theological course at Cambridge, was ordained in December, 1833, as successor of Ralph Waldo Emerson in the pastorate of the Second church in this city. He was the author of a valuable history of this church, in which he devoted a loving effort to the commemoration of the distinguished careers of his predecessors, Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather. He sought especially, as far as the truth of the record would allow, to relieve the latter from some of the disesteem and reproach which have attached to him in history and popular judgment. After a ministry of forty-one years he resigned his office in 1874, and had since lived in retirement."

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The Maine Historical Society held its Annual Field Day at Damariscotta. Among those present were R. K. Sewall, Esq., Wiscasset; A. G. Tenney, Brunswick; the Rev. S. F. Dike, D.D., Bath; the Hon. Sidney Per-

ham, Paris; J. G. Elder, Esq., Lewiston; Dr. H. C. Levensaler, Thomaston; the Rev. H. S. Burrage, Portland. Also the following invited guests: The Rev. J. P. Warren, D.D., Portland; John Ward Dean, Esq., and wife, of Boston. The first thing in order was the examination of the shell heaps. Some of the gentlemen, after persistent digging, secured very fair specimens, which they brought away with them; there were no large shells found, though one of the party sought one of twenty inches in length, just to beat Mr. Tenney's story of one of sixteen inches. We saw one in the office of Dr. E. C. Chapman which measures plump thirteen inches in length, and is nearly, if not quite, three inches broad. According to the testimony of Professor Hitchcock, which was cited, there are no less than forty-four million nine hundred and six thousand four hundred cubic feet of shells in this bed, which is now nearly reduced to a mass of dust.

In the evening, at the Baptist church, Mr. Sewall read a paper, which appeared in the *Portland Transcript* of the 23d ultimo, embodying many interesting facts about ancient Pemaquid, where within the memory of a living person the outlines of three hundred cellars could be counted, and it is alleged that Mr. Partridge has counted forty-seven in the immediate vicinity of his house.

Mr. Tenney considered one point in the great New England Charter of 1620 but an enlargement of the charter of 1606, under which the Popham and Jamestown (Va.) colonies were settled. King James speaks of persons in "divers years past" who "have settled already some of our People in *Places* agreeable

to their Desires in these Parts." "Places," says the charter. More than Jamestown is referred to, and if you include Popham, "divers years" refers to settlement at different times, and Popham and Jamestown were settled the same year. Where better look for those "places" than on Maine soil?

Mr. Sewall maintained that the paved streets were relics of the commercial activities of the Pemaquid country while it was the capital of a ducal State or province.

Massachusetts is also complained of by Mr. Tenney for what he styles the attempt to deny a history to Maine prior to 1620.

ST. NICHOLAS SOCIETY, EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES—"So long as this Society endures, the phrase, 'the last of the Knickerbockers,' will have no meaning. Yet, from time to time, as its years increase, there comes occasion for honoring the memory of some member, gathered to his fathers, who was among the foremost of the Knickerbockers; finished and conspicuous as a specimen of the GREAT RACE that founded this city. Frederic de Peyster was such a man. His lineage runs back more than two and a half centuries, to the dawn of Dutch dominion over Manhattan. His name, not disappearing, as many ancient ones have done, in the marriage of female heirs, descends through six generations, from father to son each a leader of men in his day, and charged with civic trusts, when public life meant honorable fame. Frederic de Peyster upheld nobly the traditions of his line, by devotion to worthy ends of the Dutch sense, honesty, and firmness transmitted by it.

Other records will more fitly inscribe the story of his public service in the field of charity, of finance, of history, of letters.

It is for us to remember, proudly and tenderly, the hours, the speech, the deeds of his within our precincts, that held up to our admiration and love Dutch character as a living force, Dutch manhood in its blended gentleness and strength.

He joined with the most conspicuous men of his prime, forty-seven years ago, in founding this Society; and served it during most of those years in important trusts, holding the office of Treasurer for one year, that of President for one term, and that of Manager for thirty years. In his departure the Society loses a charm of welcome companionship, no less than wisdom of counsel, energy in action, and something of the lustre won from the dignity of a name like his. Yet it counts its gain in a high example of a rounded life, full of good deeds, honored by all good men, inspiring to us in its memory, as it was dear in its presence."

LITERARY NOTICES

THE FOUNDING OF YALE COLLEGE.

By FRANKLIN B. DEXTER. Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 31. New Haven Colony Historical Society: 1882.

GOVERNOR ELIHU YALE. By FRANKLIN B. DEXTER. 8vo, pp. 21. New Haven: 1882.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION OF YALE COLLEGE. By SIMEON E. BALDWIN. 8vo, pp. 37. New Haven Colony Historical Society: 1882.

The spirit of critical inquiry which distinguishes these papers, read before the New Haven Colony Historical Society by Professors Dexter and Baldwin, is quite in contrast with the conventional style in which the mass of material upon the subject has commonly been written. College

traditions, through a traditional indisposition to disturb them, take deep root, and whoever hacks at them with the axe runs the risk of ostracism. But in the fact that college communities are intelligent we find a guarantee that the main traditions were originally well founded, and in their transmission have suffered slight variation, thus leaving the axeman little material to work upon.

In these papers, which must prove of special interest to graduates of Yale College, the authors give a careful history and review of its origin and status. Noticeable, especially, is the freedom with which they sustain, reject, or qualify parts of the earlier record. The story of the founding, for example, as corrected by Professor Dexter, somewhat impairs the accuracy of what he describes as "the venerable and beautiful tradition of the ten excellent ministers assembling, in 1700, in Mr. Russel's south parlor in Branford," each with a number of books which he dedicated to the college thus established. This, according to President Clap, was the visible act with which it opened its career. Admitting that the tradition has "some basis of truth," Professor Dexter cannot accept it in every detail, and proceeds to show that the project was in an unorganized and imperfect state for more than a year after, and that the date on which the college received its "corporate existence" was October 16, 1701, when the General Court of Connecticut granted it a charter. Furthermore, there is no record of the organization of the trustees prior to that date. As President Clap obtained his information from some of the original trustees, it is difficult to believe that he could have misinterpreted their version of the founding, and we are forced to the conclusion of the writer, that the gift of books by the ten ministers in 1700 may simply have not been so "formal" as represented, nor intended as the official beginning of the institution. But it is good to see how deep and general was the interest among the Connecticut pastors in the new "collegiate school" at that early day, and with what care and generosity it was hedged about in its infancy. Saybrook was fixed upon as its site, "so that all parts of the Connecticut Colony, with the neighboring colony [of Massachusetts], may be best accommodated." In October, 1716, the school was removed to New Haven, its proper home, and a year later the first college house was raised, which is described as "a stupendous architectural monstrosity," long, very narrow, and of a "beautiful cerulean" hue. It was in the effort to erect this building that the school, two years later found and adopted the name which it was to bear in all the future; and here we find Professor Dexter's second paper, on Governor Elihu Yale one of much interest. Tracing his somewhat striking career in the service of the East India Company, the writer leads us to the circumstances under which the college came to be christened after him. The fact that Yale was a

New Englander by birth is an explanation in part, for when the college was put to its wits to raise money to complete its first building, Cotton Mather appealed to the Governor, then living like a prince in London, for assistance, which duly coming in generous measure, prompted the linking of his name with the incipient and hard-pressed university.

Upon the question of more moment, namely, the quality of the instruction to be given and the ecclesiastical position of the college, both Professor Dexter and Professor Baldwin insist that while the founders looked to it "as a source whence the colony should obtain a permanent succession of learned ministers," they and those who followed them never lost sight of what may be called its secular utility; and naturally they emphasize the last phrase of the charter, which describes the school as a nursery "wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who, through the blessing of Almighty God, may be fitted for public employment, both in Church and Civil State." Professor Baldwin deals with this point *in extenso*. That there was considerable dissatisfaction with the latitudinarian views which Harvard then encouraged is a matter of record, and it is not to be disguised that ministers in Connecticut wished to see a school established which would countenance nothing that was not unequivocally "orthodox;" but the conclusion that, therefore, Yale College was founded to propagate beliefs which Harvard did not, is not strictly correct. In fact, Professor Baldwin shows that "the Connecticut trustees deliberately preferred not to make it a part of the organic law of the new institution that any particular kind of theological doctrine should forever be taught in it." Continuing his investigations further, and especially into the standing of the college before the law, and in the light of such legislation that it has required since its founding, the writer joins issue with the traditional supposition in the matter, and holds that Yale has never had such a thing as an ecclesiastical constitution. Not only has it not been at any time restricted to the education of ministers or to ministers of the orthodox faith, but it would appear that the charter does not require that the President and ten of the Fellows shall be "orthodox Congregational ministers." The fact that unofficial laymen are now admitted into the corporation is an evidence of the flexible character of the college constitution, so far as it has any at all. Indeed, Professor Baldwin likens it to the English constitution, as a growth adapting itself continually to the necessities and tendencies of particular times. The college has become great, justly says the writer, "because she was free."

As much ignorance and misapprehension exists, even among the alumni of the institution, on the subjects treated in these papers, their appearance in printed form is timely. It should be added

that the pamphlets are from the advance sheets of Vol. III. of the "Transactions of the New Haven Colony Historical Society," soon to be issued.

A MANUAL OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

Comprising brief descriptions of the most eminent histories in English, French, and German, together with practical suggestions as to methods and courses of historical study, etc. By CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D., Professor of History in the University of Michigan. New York: HARPER & BROS., 12mo, pp. 665.

Prof. Adams aims in this work to accomplish two more or less distinct purposes. "In the first place," he states in his preface, "it has been my aim to furnish, as best I could, such information about the most desirable books as the historical reader and student is likely to profit by; and in the second to suggest the proper methods and order of using the materials so indicated." Of course the author has been obliged to adopt the method of selection, and in pointing out what he conceives to be the fittest books exposes himself to criticism. He names books enough, that is certain; whether in every case he recommends just the right work is a point which only long and intimate knowledge with universal and special history could determine. Prof. Adams risks something in passing judgment on all that has been written in his prolific department, but of this he seems to have been fully aware, and laborious effort has been the consequence. The result is praiseworthy.

Five-sixths of the work is devoted to ancient, mediæval, and European history. Universal histories are mentioned fully and criticized freely. E. A. Freeman's General Sketch is praised for its "historical and literary workmanship," but exception must be taken as to its arrangement for a text-book. Rollin's Ancient History was long since properly discarded, although we cannot agree with the author that "it has scarcely a single merit to recommend it." Gibbon's Rome receives fulsome praise as "the greatest historical work ever written." Hume's England, in point of clearness, elegance, and simplicity of style, "has never been surpassed," yet abounds in "gross errors;" and in much the same method the author goes through a very numerous list, giving the merits and defects of the historians.

The last hundred pages of the Manual are devoted to histories of the United States, and it is gratifying to note the attention paid to this department, although we are not sure that it is not open to improvement. Jones' Tory History of New York, for example, is mentioned, while William Smith's earlier and more important work

receives no notice. The biographies of George Cabot, John Randolph, and Elbridge Gerry are honored with a selection to the exclusion of those of John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, Edward Livingston, Aaron Burr, Salmon P. Chase, and other national or leading characters. Lafayette's "Memoirs," containing, among other historical matters, a most interesting and valuable correspondence with Washington, is likewise omitted. The "suggestions to students and readers," however, are satisfactorily full and discriminating, and give any one interested in special periods of our history all the references necessary. While mention is not made of many valuable monographs on important events, the work as a whole is eminently useful to the American student.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY. Edited by WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, etc. Vol. IV. Newark, N. J., 8vo, pp. 464.

This volume covers the administrations of Governor Robert Hunter and President Lewis Morris, 1709-20, and the documents are promiscuous in character but not the less important. There are papers and letters upon the disputed boundary line between New York and New Jersey, the affirmation of Quakers, the trial of pirates, and the doings of the Assembly—all of local interest. This series is compiled and edited by authority of the State of New Jersey, at the request of the State Historical Society. Vol. V. will continue the publication of documents to the year 1738.

ANNOUNCEMENT.—Mr. William L. Stone will soon publish, by subscription, a work of four hundred pages, entitled "The Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson during the Oriskany Campaign, 1777, annotated by William L. Stone; with an Historical Introduction illustrating the Life of Sir John Johnson by Gen. J. Watts de Peyster; and a Tory and Hessian Annex by Col. T. Bailey Myers." The work which, among other illustrations, will contain a handsome engraving of Sir John in full military dress, is from the press of Joel Munsell's Sons, of Albany, and will appear as one of "Munsell's Historical Series," fully coming up in the excellence of its typographical work to the standard of that series which has made the Munsell press so famous. In the annotations Mr. Stone, like his father, the late Colonel Stone, neglects no opportunity not only of saying a kind word for the aborigines, but of sharply criticising the Indian policy of the United States, drawing a contrast between it and that pursued by Canada, by no means flattering to the former government.

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